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A
REMONSTRANCE
OF HIS
Sacred Royal Majesty
OF
SWEDEN,

Unfolding the GROUNDS and CAUSES
whereby His said Majesty was constrained to continue
the WAR brought on him by the King and Kingdom of

DENMARK,

After the PEACE was ratified at *Roskild*,
But neither Pursu'd nor duly Observ'd by the

DANES.

Anno 1658.

Gustavus King of Sweden.

LONDON,

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at the Sign of the Rain-bow in *Fleet-street*, 1659.

MEMORANDUM

TO

THE ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

WITNESSES

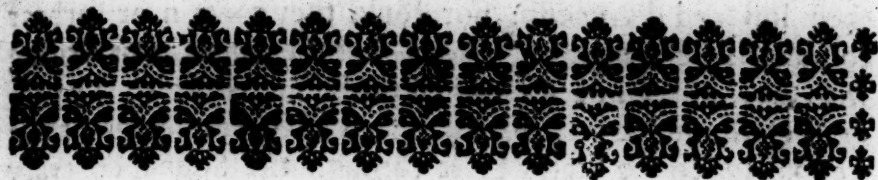
THE HONORABLE

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

OF CANADA

OTTAWA

1911



HIS MAJESTY
OF
SWEDENS
Remonstrance,

Declaring the Reasons that forc'd him
to continue the WAR with DENMARK
after the Treaty at *Roskild*.



Here are principally two things which cannot but affect any man with wonder, that shall without partiality weigh and observe the course and carriage of this War betwixt the Swedes and Danes, to wit, the singular moderation, which his Sacred Royal Majesty of *Sweden* to his Princely Renown, hath expressed and approved to the World: and on the other side, the extreme Ingratitude, whereby the Nation of *Denmark* hath deservedly contracted a foul and lasting infamy.

For when the most Serene his Majesty of *Sweden*, was by mature and weighty Reasons drawn forth to a War against *Poland*, and that he fail'd not of such success as usually accompany just undertakings, the Danes grew straightwayes maliciously

The Danish
practices a-
gainst Sweden,

ously affected to our Victories, deeming our Acquisitions to be their loss and detriment: nor could they contain or forbear to publish these envious Passions, but they must be practising with the the States of *Holland* to give some check to the progress of the Swede in *Prussia*; at least they readily granted a free passage to the States Fleet through the Sound, contrary to their Faith given to us, and also joyn'd with them as many of their own men of War as they had in readiness, and that to no other purpose, but onely to second the cross and sinister Designs of the Dantzickers, and to heighten and embitter the Pole against the Swede.

with the Dantzickers,

and with the Muscovites.

And though this might have serv'd for a sufficient testimony of their meaning to us, yet they held it too scant, unless they had also urg'd the Muscovite to make a War on the Swedes, propounding the goodliest Christian Provinces as a booty, to the exquisite Cruelties of barbarous Nations. Nor was the Play acted under a mask, as by men ashamed to own their parts, but they sent a pompous Embassy to congratulate the coming of the Muscovite into *Liefland*; solemnly exhorting him constantly to stick to, and effectually to prosecute so worthy a Design.

The Swedish dealing with the Dane to prevent a breach.

His most Serene Majesty of *Sweden* having been duly regardful to that Amity, which his Neighborhood and Confederacy with the Danes required, to prevent any perverse opinion that might be raised on his preparation for War, had in due season directed his Resident in the Danish Court to unfold his Majesties purpose, and for what reasons he was constrain'd to take up Arms against the Poles.

He acquaints him with his enterprize against Poland,

Which Reasons appear'd so sufficient and just to the Danish King, that he profess'd never to impede or thwart his Design, but rather he seem'd to wish the Expedition prosperous.

and proposeth a Treaty for the Confirmation of ancient Leagues by his Resident as Plenipotentiary,

And so far as it seem'd for the behoof of these Northern Kingdoms to joyn in a straiter bond of Friendship, his Majesty hath on his part neglected nothing that might conduce to the effecting and establishing thereof: which seem'd also fully prepar'd and ripe, when the Danes purposing nothing less then the confirmation of it, objected certain Grievances first to be removed. Which, when the Swedish Plenipotentiary suspect-

ing

ing nothing, desired them to propound: after many delays they retrieve their old complaints of Injuries committed by the Subjects of *Sweden* to the prejudice of their Customs of the Sound. But when he had easily demonstrated the groundless vanity of this, and what else was alledg'd, the Danes could no longer hold, but laying aside the vizer, plainly urg'd to be discharg'd of the Covenants made at *Bromsebroe*. The Swedish Commissioner after so many fruitless Demonstrations and Protestations being tyr'd with their jugling, and perceiving that the Danes had precluded all means of confirming the League, took his leave of the King and most of the Peers of the Kingdom, and departed, referring the Debate of those pretended Grievances to a meeting of the Senators of both Kingdoms, then shortly to be held on the Borders, according to the custom of those Northern People.

Which the Dane disappoints,

by endeavouring to make void the treaty Bromsebroe.

Whereupon the Swedish Resident retires.

He was scarce departed *Copenhagen*, when three Swedish Ships coming from *Portugal* were detain'd, and made prize by the Danes in the Sound; and presently after the Inhabitants of *Breme* and *Pomerania* are solicited to renounce their Allegiance, hood-wink'd with a specious promise of Liberty, as a reward of their impiety. Immediately after War was denounced, and an Herald to that purpose sent into *Sweden*, but one whose (otherwise) sacred administration was profan'd by a Libell, which declaring such frivolous and foul Causes of the said War, in so virulent a strain as never before was known to pass betwixt Kings, rendred those Causes yet more weak and contemptible.

The Danes seize upon Swedish ships.

Solicit Bremen and Pomerania to Rebellion.

And denounce War.

Indeed he received his deserv'd censure by publique Authority, and the Danes themselves some time after, acknowledged the shamefulnes of the thing, so that in the Treaty at *Roschild* they condemned it; but whereas it holds out the departure of the Swedish Commissioner from *Copenhagen* as the occasion of the ensuing War, therein they add foul Impudence to Malice. For the Papers of *Andr. Bille* chief Generall to the King of *Denmark*, which came to our hands on the possessing of *Fredericks Ode*, and the Isle of *Fuhnen*, are more then sufficient proof, how long before his departure this War was decreed, and that they were most studious

Which was contrived long before the Residents departure.

to contrive meanes of hastening his departure.

This publique Invective against the Swedes Nation was seconded by private calumny, the Peers of *Denmark* reckoning it great glory and merit to abound in tart Reproaches, contending for a mastery in scurrility with their poor and sordid eloquence. So great a matter it seems it was to untheath a pen against the Swedes, and he that was the best proficient in scoffing and detraction, thereby presum'd himself to be the worthiest Patriot.

And soon after
broke out.

But were soon
repulsed by the
Swedes from
Bremen and
the *Dukall*
Holstein,

And *Fredericks*
Ode taken.

In the mean
time Sweden
offers terms of
accommodation
by the Eng-
lish publique
Ministers.

Then were the Danish Soldiers powr'd into the Countreys of *Sweden*, discovering every where much impotent rage, especially in the *Dukall* part of *Holstein* and *Breme*, which, together with the rest of *Sweden*, they had long since swallowed in hopes: but Divine Vengeance staid not long, but stroak such terror and dread into them, that some of them durst not abide the approach of our men coming from the farther part of *Lettow*, but betook themselves for shelter to adjacent Islands; others received the wages of their rash adventure, being in a few dayes time utterly expelled the Dutchy of *Breme*, excepting onely the Castle of *Bremerford*. Soon after all *Jutland* submitted to the Swede, save that new built Fort of *Fredericks Ode*, which was at first stiffly maintained by a considerable party of the Danes. But the valiant Commander *Wrangle* encourag'd by his Majesties influence and his own valour, after he had begirt it a few weeks, won it, without any great loss of his own men, and having made great slaughter of the Enemy, carried with him two thousand Prisoners; amongst whom were the chief General of *Denmark* and another Senator.

His most Serene Majesty of *Sweden* did not forget in the current of these Victories his regard to Peace; Major General *Jephson* and Sir *Philip Meadows* Agents for his Highness the Lord Protector of *England*, promoting it with all diligence; of which the former then resided in the Swedish Court, the latter in the Danish, to settle a Peace betwixt them. But how was this receiv'd by the Danes? They vouchsaf'd an Answer indeed three several times to those things Sir *Philip Meadows* had declar'd concerning this Businesse, but withall they sought
with

with such arrogancy and height to impose Laws on the Swedes, that it might thence be easily discern'd, what small affection they had to Peace, notwithstanding all that his most Serene Majesty of *Sweden* could urge in his Declarations, to render them more calm and tractable. And that no man may be unsatisfied in this Relation, we have here subjoyn'd the whole businesse of the severall Entercourses under the Letters *A, B, C, D, E, F, &c.* Which the Dane contemns,
A, B, C, D, E, F, &c.

Wherefore the Swedes perceiving themselves to be onely born in hand with a counterfeit shew of Peace, and that the Danes did at the same time vigorously labour a Confederation with the Austrian, Pole, and Brandenburg, resolved to infest them with War in their very lurking places, and since reason might not take place, to work them to it by force. Herein they found assistance from the extreme sharpness of the Winter, which was such, that the whole Sea being frozen over, afforded passage, beyond all Record of example, for the whole Army of the Swedes into Fuhnen. On that Island abode the flower and choice of the Danish Souldiery, as also all the most hardy Commanders, who notwithstanding being broken and put to flight, came into the power of the Swede, together with five Senatours of that Kingdom; so that it may well be affirm'd, that the Swedish Affairs were by that dayes work much secured; and that the very foundations of the Danish Kingdom began to totter: thus the Channell of the Sea was no sufficient Mote to fortifie him, who assum'd to himself the Pride and Insolence to oppresse others, who never had deserv'd any such usage at his hands.

and makes Leagues with Austria, Poland, and Brandenburg.

Whereupon the Swede marching over the Sea doth possess himself of Fuhnen.

His Majesty of *Denmark* being horribly surpriz'd with this News, and the more for that the Swedes had the same opportunity to passe into *Zealand*, began to advise with such of his Peers, as he had about him, concerning a Peace, desiring the afore said English Agent, Sir *Philip Meadows*, to mediate therein. Who, though he had found them deaf till then to all his Arguments of Peace, was very diligent and trusty to that charge, and sending one of his Retinue to the King of *Sweden* then residing at *Odensea* in *Fuhnen*, Letter G. advised him, that the Danes were become inclinable to Peace. For that cold, which naturally doth harden.

And the Dane then desires a Treaty of Peace.

Letter G.

Which is ac-
cepted of by
the Swedes.
Letter H.

harden, had now made the stony hearts of the Danes softer and more pliable then wax. To these Letters answer was made, Letter H. with great moderation, such as could not be expected from a Prince in the height and heat of Conquest. The Messenger also return'd over the Ice into *Zealand* the same way he came, being instructed concerning the time and place of the Treaty.

Who marcheth
over the Sea
into Zealand.

And a Treaty
begins at Wor-
dinburg.

In the mean time his most Serene Majesty of *Sweden*, holding it unmeet to flight his opportunity, moved by the Islands, *Langland*, *Laland*, and *Falster*, the way which Fates had opened, with his victorious Army toward *Zealand*, and at *Wordinburg* Castle met with the English Envoy Extraordinary, and some Danish Commissioners. There his Sacred Royal Majesty of *Sweden*, understanding the Danes forwardnesse to lay hold on a Peace, made no delay, but joyn'd Commissioners of his with them, who, for that it was for the behoof of each Party, to use dispatch, might bring the matter to a speedy issue.

But broken off
by the Danish
Commission-
ers, for default
of Instructions

And doubtlesse a Peace had then been concluded, (*Monsieur Hugo Terlon* the Embassadour in Ordinary from the most Christian King of *France* to the King of *Sweden*, and *Sir Philip Meadows*, whom we have often occasion to mention with commendation, much labouring therein) had not the Danish Commissioners pretended their Commission was not large enough to make a Peace in the terms then propounded by the Swedes. For which cause they departed to *Copenhagen* to return speedily with further Commission. In the mean time his most Serene Majesty of *Sweden*, that he might hasten the Peace, goeth on with his Army, and was approached even to the gates of *Copenhagen*, when the Danish Commissioners returning with the English Envoy extraordinary, were wonderous desirous to consummate the Agreement begun at *Wordinburg*. Whereupon those Honourable Persons, who had mediated, by the assent of his Majesty of *Sweden*, gave meeting to the Commissioners of each Party at *Tastrup*, a Village near *Copenhagen*, where, having spent some dayes on the traverse of Affairs, they resolv'd on certain Articles to be shortly after enlarg'd and polish'd at *Raskild*, Letter I. for that it was impossible in such

And again re-
newed at Tos-
trup, where the
Articles were
formed,
Letter I.

a huddle and speed to give caution to all emergent disputes and differences, that in tract of time might arise thereon. Which Articles, being prepar'd by the subscriptions of those Mediatours and the Commissioners were finally confirm'd and ratified by both the Kings, Letter K.

And afterward
confirmed at
Roskild
Letter K.

It might be esteem'd almost miraculous, that his most Serene Majesty of *Sweden*, having been so much provok'd, and so set at naught by the Danes, should so govern his courage and resolution, as to forbear the utter destruction of that Nation, that had so often threatned to root out him and his. Doubtless the Kingdom of the Danes had then been brought to a period, and *Copenhagen*, that onely remain'd, could have little avail'd them, being no otherwise defensible, but by the naked bodies of men. There you might have seen King and Peers all in a confusion, the Nobility at discord with the Citizens, the Souldiers mutining; and those, who should have been their guard and defence, powring out all manner of threats and menaces. Insomuch, that those that were most judicious, did most despair of the common safety, the wealthy Citizens imploring the favour and protection of the Swedes. The Fortresses that remained in *Schonen*, lay open to the enemy; not onely for that the Ice had made the passage easie, but also for that most of the Souldiers were drawn thence into *Zealand*.

But the most Serene his Majesty of *Sweden* wanted nothing but will to ruine the Kingdom of *Denmark* and those, whom by force he might, he chose rather to win by clemency, onely taking of the Enemies that part of the Countrey, which had formerly been injuriously wrested from the Swede; as also some places in Norway for his security, that though hereafter they would, they might not easily annoy him.

Now who could imagine, that the Danes, who owe both their being and their dominion to the Swede, should demonstrate themselves so utterly unworthy of those benefits? For the Articles at *Tostrop* were scarce signed, and a Cessation of Arms on both sides proclaim'd, when they took the boldness presently to discover their malicious inclinations. It had been there declared amongst other things, that, before his Sacred Royall Majesty of *Sweden* should, for the better ease of the Countrey, dispose

But not duly
kept on the
Danish part.

The promised
Horse not be-
ing sent as was
agreed.

dispose of his Souldiers in their Quarters, untill it should be agreed upon the time of their departure out of *Zealand* in the meeting at *Roskild*, the Danes should out of hand send in their promis'd aid of 2000. Horse. (For his Majesty of *Sweden* had generously discharged them from sending in the 2000 Foot, which by force of the Articles at *Toststrup* they were bound to do, that he might expresse his affection to the King of *Denmark*, who earnestly besought it, lest he should be depriv'd of all Foot Forces for the maintenance of his Garrisons.) But mark what was here done. The Danes first took advice, as afterwards plainly appear'd, whether it were not wisdom, under colour of sending in aid, to set upon his most Serene Majesty of *Sweden* at unawares, and to rid themselves of the fear of an Enemy so near at hand. The contrivers of this Device had prevail'd, had it not received opposition from others, who did not so much detest the foulness of the Fact, as judiciously discern, that those Plots against so vigilant a King would hardly succeed. Yet, lest they should seem to deal too candidly with us, instead of two thousand German Horse, after much balking they sent us onely nine hundred thirty six, and those in disorder too, as if it had been none of their business; and of these the least part Germans, or of any other Forreign Nations, but Danes born, in whom the Swedes could put little confidence; for that they knew it would be a grievous matter for them to bid adieu to their Countrey Pork and Pease; but rather, when the Swedish Army should march, they would flink away and forsake their Colours. Nor was it long ere it prov'd so, for of all that number there were onely four hundred staid, and those Forreigners. Certainly his Sacred Royal Majesty of *Sweden* might justly have had rejected that patch'd and imperfect supply of Horse, nor have admitted those that were Danes by birth, much lesse those of *Schonen*, such as were the Troups of *Axell Urop* to come in and fill up the number. For they being appointed at the charge of the Ministers and Bayliffs in *Schonen*, are to be concluded under the same condition with those that set them out, and were before that oblig'd by Covenants to pay Faith and Allegiance to the Kingdom of *Sweden*. But as his most Serene Majesty of *Sweden* had

had not onely passed over many things in those Treaties, whereon he might have insisted, but also in others had receded much from his right in reference to what was promised; so in the businesse of these Horse, he was pleased to express his noble disposition, and to receive at the present such as the Commissioners of *Denmark* had been pleased to appoint him; yet on this condition, that the Remainder should speedily be provided, all sufficient and forreign Souldiers; at least, if they intended, that the Peace, which was drawn in short at *Tostrop*, should receive a finall confirmation at *Roskild*. Afterwards the Swedes Army was dispers'd into their Quarters, being ready to march out of *Sealand*, as soon as the business at *Roskild* should be dispatch'd.

Yet the Swede doth connive at this,

Expecting due satisfaction before the full ratification of the Treaty.

And though it be almost incredible, that the Danes being cast upon those extremities, should delay the conclusion of an Agreement, especially since it was so much their concern to bring it to a speedy issue; yet many dayes were trifled away at *Roskild*, and the whole matter spun out in hopes of some change of Affairs. For then the Swedish Army might be necessitated, and *Copenhagen* the better fortified against all attempts; and the Danes might have opportunity by Forreign Aids to make up their Breaches. But the fierceness of the winter, and the unwonted cold continued, contrary to the hopes of the Danes. His most Serene Majesty of *Sweden* who well enough perceiv'd the Danes drift, would not waste time upon the pretence of Treaties, the loss of which, as it is always considerable, so then it was inestimable; but rather he enjoyn'd his Commissioners to urge the Danes, adding this commination, that in case they continued to spin out longer delayes, he must of necessity make recourse to his Warlike Power and besiege *Copenhagen*.

Yet the Danes do delay,

Hoping for a change of affairs.

Which perceived by the Swede, he threatens the attempting of *Copenhagen*.

Whereupon it was at length concluded, Letter L. and those Gentlemen, which had mediated, subscribed two Instruments drawn thereupon, together with the Commissioners of each part, and interchangeably delivered them, according to the custome.

Letter L.

And then the Treaty was fully subscribed

But forasmuch as the Danes supposed themselves unable to sustain a War, which might happen to them, having lost so

And the Danes
insist upon a
Treaty for a
nearer League.

many Provinces , and which they were oblig'd to part with by the renouncing of all other Leagues , it was earnestly sought of the Swedes , not onely at *Tostrop*, but likewise at *Roskild*, that Commissioners of either Nation might suddenly be appointed for the contracting of a strait League between those two Northern Countreys ; whereof they gave them sufficient hopes.

And private
Articles were
agreed upon.
Letter M.

Moreover some further Articles were consented to, Letter *M.* which were privately concluded , the Dane so desiring it, yet were enforced with the like authority that the former had, by the subscriptions of those honourable Mediatours and the Commissioners.

Yet the Danes
do falsifie the
Articles.

We might observe the same candor in the Danes with the above noted, about the beginning of the Treaties at *Tostrop*, when in their Project they used for the most part ambiguous terms, onely to the end, that they might reserve to themselves matter sufficient to wrest them in the future, to a sense injurious to us, in the mean time colourably affirming, that their sense was the same with what the words of the Swedes Commissioners carried. But this appear'd yet more manifest at *Roskild*, and chiefly in that the Danes at the making of their Protocoll or Registry were found guilty of that, which in the Cornelian Law *de falsis* is under a very sharp penalty restrained. For when the Swedish Commissioners in comparing the Projects of the Instrument of Peace, had observed amongst other things, that the Danes had not alwayes in perspicuous terms express'd the sense of the Swedish Projects , they not onely desired upon that ambiguity the Danes exposition , but also, that no stop might be put to the behoofful Work of Peace, they were content , upon condition their verball explication might for the better caution be inserted in the Protocoll or Registry, lest by a different interpretation some controversie might arise between these Northern Nations in succeeding times. Yea, to the end the certainty might be clear and manifest, the Swedes in many things of chiefest moment did dictate to the Danish Pens the sense of each party. Hence it was that the Swedes were the more facile, and were content to conform to the expressions of the Danes in many places of their

their Projects. Yet contrary to our hopes we afterwards found, that the Danes dealt very disingenuously herein, notoriously depraving the Protocoll or Registry, as shall in its proper place hereafter appear. But whatsoever there is of this, would signifie little, (since by vertue of the Peace made, all miscarriages befor and in the Treaty were to be buried in oblivion) had they not after the Peace concluded renewed matter of jealousy and distempers, stifling that mutuall confidence that should have been reviv'd and restor'd betwixt the two Kings. In the mean time his *S. R. M.* of *Sweden* understanding that the Treaties at *Roskild* were in a manner drawn to a conclusion, commands part of his Army to march to *Wordin-burgh*, part to *Corseer*, that they might pass over into *Jutland* and *Fuhnen* before the ice was thaw'd; Count *Tot* was ordered to prepare for his departure to *Schonen*, to take possession in his Majesties name of those Towns and Castles, that were to be surrendered by the Danes.

And give
cause of jea-
lousie after the
peace conclu-
ded.

When the
Swede had gi-
ven order for a
march out of
Zealand.

But the News had scarcely come to the King of *Sweden*, being yet at *Ringsted* of the finall conclusion of the Peace, when there posted to him *Owen Juul* from *Coppenhagen* with Letters Credentiall from the King of *Denmark*, informing amongst other things, that the King could not render his Forts up in *Schonen*, so soon as was expected; for that it was impossible (by reason it began to thaw) to bring the Swedish Army out of *Sealand*; yet that he was ready, to deliver up the Castle at *Helsingburgh* without delay for his security. And that they might the more cleanly impose upon the Swedes, he pretended, that the King of *Denmark* had not means enough to maintain those Garrison Souldiers in *Schonen*, whilst the Swedish Army remained in *Sealand*. Nor would the said *Juul* desist from that pretence, although the King of *Sweden* undertook to make provision for those Souldiers. Wherefore his Majesty of *Sweden* dismiss'd the Agent with such Answer, as suited with the present state of Affairs, and was not a little moved therewith, it being easie to guess what the Danes then designed. For what security could he promise himself with his Army in an Island void of all defence, if those Fortresses in *Schonen* were denied him? He had been wholly at the Danes disposall, and

By reason that
he refuses to
deliver the
Forts in Scho-
nen according
to agreement,
offering onely
Elfsingburg an
inconsiderable
place.

might have been brought to utmost extremities , if the Danes had found aid from abroad.

At the perswasion of *Beuningen* upon assurance of supplies from *Holland*.

And this was the suggestion of *Beuningen*, then Ambassador from the States of *Holland* into *Denmark*, who made them solemn promise, that, if the surrendry of those Forts could be delay'd upon that pretence, they should have sufficient supplies brought into *Denmark* for their relief, as soon as the sea was navigable. Adding further, if they were distress'd for money, he would procure them a large supply, whereof also, as the report went, he gave them some earnest, in lending them money at the present.

Whereupon the Swede recalls his army, Then the Dane condescends to surrender *Schonen*. Letter N.

And when the Swedish Army was to march the second time the weather sickens. Letter O.

And the two Kings meet personally in great confidence.

Thereupon the King of *Sweden* recall'd his Army with all haste, which was gone part to *Wordinburgh*, part to *Corsoer*, having sent his Secretary *Ehrenstein* to *Roskild* with strict Injunction to the Commissioners, for preventing all occasion the Danes might use to make deniall, that there should be a particular Recess appointed concerning the rendition of *Schonen*. Letter N. To which when the Danish Commissioners had easily consented, (for they had proceeded so far in words before) the Swedish Army made ready once more to march away. But then the Frost slackned, and the Ice was not able to bear so great a weight, and the rather for that five or six dayes had elaps'd, in sending and recalling the Army. And now his Majesty of *Sweden* desir'd to return into his Countrey, when Letters are brought him from the Danish King, Letter O. wherein was contained, not onely the confirmation of what hath been said of the Rendition at *Schonen*, but also he himself was invited into the Castle of *Fredericksburgh* to a personall conference. Which latter part was also seconded by two of his chief Peers sent to *Roskild*. The King mislik'd it not, and therefore came with a small attendance. It was remarkable what great confidence each King had of the other; and hard to say, which of the two was most forward to give credit to the other: whether the King of *Sweden* were more confident, who adventur'd himself with so small a guard among the Danes, that were more numerous; or the King of *Denmark*, who adventur'd his Person out of his Metropolis, whilst the Swede was Master of the whole Countrey round about. But whether

whether the one or the other, this is certain, that those two Kings spent there some dayes in such brotherly amity and friendship, that any man would conclude all bitterneſſe and rancor was paſſ'd over : Whereof this may ſerve for proof, that the King of *Denmark* amongſt other familiar diſcourſes made mention of that League we formerly ſpoke of, wherein he eſteem'd it neceſſary, that theſe two Northern Kingdoms ſhould be united, and deſired with great inſtance from the King of *Sweden*, that he would ſend his Ambaſſador into *Denmark* for that purpoſe.

And the Dane doth inſiſt upon a near union.

Thereupon his Maſteſty of *Sweden*, before his going to *Gottinburgh*, where he had commanded the Senatours of the Kingdom, and Deputies of the three Orders to meet him, that he might diſcharge his faith and promiſe to the King of *Denmark*, and moſt liberally perform all things, that tended to the amity of the Kingdoms, and the confirmation of the late concluded Peace, gave Order for ſuch an Embaſſay at *Malmoe* in *Schonen*, with ample inſtructions, with all ſpeed to eſta bliſh the League the Dane had ſo earneſtly ſought, and he promiſ'd.

Which the Swede readily puts in a way to be encountered.

The Lord Baron *Stenot Bielcke*, Senatour of the Kingdom, and Sir *Peter Julius Coyet*, Counſellour of State, who were deſign'd for that Embaſſay, chearfully undertook their charge; and being ſet forwards on their Journey with all expedition, on the 19. day of *March* the ſame year they arriv'd at *Coppenhagen*. There they were received in ſuch ſort, as was ſuitable to the honour of their Royall Maſters, being brought in and treated with ſuch great obſervancy of reſpect and reverence, that any one would thence ominate an happy event, and ſuch as was deſired to that Embaſſay. For the Senatours of the Kingdom were very large in expreſſing their ſowardneſs and their ſincere deſire to maintain that mutuall correſpondence, not onely in the ſolemn admiſſion of our Ambaſſadours to the King of *Denmark*, but alſo in all private conferences; ſharply inveighing againſt the publique Miniſters of other States, who had entangled them in that War by ſeveral inſinuations and devices. But how far different was the purpoſe of theſe Danes, 'twill be no hard matter for any man to gueſs, who ſhall underſtand

Sending Ambaſſadors,

Who were in appearance received with all integrity.

But not so in effect.

derstand by the subsequent Narrative, that the Danes in pretense of a League had no other aim, but by their engines and devices, if not wholly to overthrow, yet for the most part to evacuate and defeat the Treaty at *Roskild*, and by protracting the concluding of Peace, to gain time, and on the first occasion that presented it self, by force and fraud to regain their lost Provinces, the latter of which many of the Danish Nobility have not been asham'd to talk of openly.

The Danes refusing to deliver the grounds of the League in writing.

'Twas a strange thing, that the Danish Ambassadors, the Lord *Axell Urop*, and *Peter Reetzi*, both Senatours of the Kingdom should in their first meeting with the Swedish Ambassadors at *Copenhagen* the 29. of *March* refuse to draw up, as was their charge, any grounds and foundations of that League so much desir'd first at *Tostrop*, then at *Roskild*, by the Danish Commissioners, and lastly at *Fredericksburgh* by the King himself. Yet on the last day of the said moneth of *March* they had another meeting, and then after many delays they pretended a form of that League in words, but would not exhibit it in writing, till the Swedes had first exhibited theirs.

But at last done,

Secrecy is imposed on both sides,

But not observ'd by the Danes.

Who revealed all to *Benning*.

To say the truth, 'twas a matter of no great moment, and of little concern, which part should first cast their Articles into paper, but that there were hot coals cover'd under these embers. For what else did the Danes design, but to sift out the meaning of the Swedes, and to rake together matter to pervert it, and render them odious to other Nations, as if they onely did eagerly pursue those things, whereby other men might in any kinde sustain loss or prejudice. And that they might carry their Imposture the more smoothly, they desired, that whatsoever pass'd in word or writing in reference to the League, should be kept close and secret from all the world. But they were most imprudently catch'd by their own Law, which they had devised to tye up others. For they acknowledg'd, that the Project, which the Swedes had first drawn and delivered, was lost, a fault hardly to be excus'd in any servant, much less in such Guardians of secrets, as they look upon themselves to be. Yet this carelessness might be excus'd, had they not in a manner published to all men, what ever was either written or spoken, and especially to *Benning* Ambassa-

dour

dour of the States of the united Provinces, by whose direction and counsell they ordered and managed still their Designes and Determinations, insomuch that he hath often boasted, that he was the onely hinderance of the conclusion of the League betwixt the Swedes and Danes, Letter P.

gen the States
Ambassador,
who did ob-
struct all.

Letter P.

But the event will declare what profit hath accrewed to the Kingdom of *Denmark*, or may for the future be expected by hearkening to so perverse Councells; This is certain, that his Majesty of *Sweden* had no other regard in this League, but to secure the trade of the Baltick sea, and preserve the Kingdom of *Denmark* from the attempts of other Enemies. Which if ever, was then most necessary; and as all the Swedes Proposals in reference to the League, so that last, Letter Q. do clearly manifest, that he had no other scope, but to preserve those Northern Kingdoms *without the prejudice and detriment of any other*, as the precise words in the Eleventh Article of the former approved Proposals being read will discover.

Whereas the
Swedish whole
aim was to
to preserve the
Northern
Kingdoms in
Peace.

Letter Q.

On the contrary the Danes had far different designs, and directed all their craft, that under colour of contracting a straiter League, they might shrink from the obligation of the Treaty at *Roskild*, and that by tying up the Swedes, they might suspend the execution of very many of those points upon the dubious event of Wars, wherein the Swedes must be immediately involved, not observing that the Treaty spake absolutely, and took force immediately from the ratification of the Peace. Many things might here be alledged touching the unreasonable demands of the Danes, wherewith they had the confidence to urge the Swedes in their Projects, but because they are partly (though but colourably) either mended or expunged in their last, Letter R. and are partly manifest by conferring the Swedish and Danish Projects, we shall pass them over, onely reciting what was the main cause of breaking off that Treaty.

But the Danish
design was to
make the trea-
ty at *Roskild*
of none effect,
as the dubious
event of Wars
might give the
advantage.

Letter R.

In the Third Article of the transactions at *Roskild*, amongst other things it was provided, that the Kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Denmark* should joyntly endeavour to impead the passage of any Fleet of War through the Sound into the Baltick Sea,

The cause of
the breaking
off, of that pri-
vate Treaty.

to

to the end that the King and Kingdom of *Sweden*, together with the Kingdom of *Denmark* might preserve their power and command, which they have alwayes joyntly held to this day, in the Baltick Sea, and from all prescription have retained inviolate against all Opposers of what kinde, or under what pretence soever.

The Danes
having viola-
ted the former
Treaties,

by bringing in
a forreign Na-
vy into the
Baltick Sea.

Which the
Swede would
prevent in time
to come.

The occasion of this caution, was not onely a negotiation some years since carried on by a Resident of *Poland* at the *Hague*, touching a League then to be made between the King of *Poland*, and the States of the united Provinces, of which this was one main drift, that a Dutch Fleet of War should be equipped and sent into the Baltick Sea; but also the Fleet that was sent in the year 1656. contrary to the Priviledge of these Northern Kingdoms, though by consent of the King of *Denmark* as Joynt-Commander, and that not onely sent through the Sound to relieve and supply the enemies of the King of *Sweden*, but also enforc'd by some of the Danes Men of War, contrary to the Faith both of his word and writing, to a great and generall mischief. Which to prevent for the future, and to stop the claim of any other Nations, who might seek to send any Fleet into the Baltick Sea, pretending a consent of one of the Joynt-Commanders of that Sea, the Swedes found it necessary most effectually to oblige the King of *Denmark*, not onely from any such consent in the future, but also that whensoever any Fleet should endeavour to pass in the dislike of either of those Kings, the other should joyntly oppose their passage. For it was the intent of his *S. R. M.* of *Sweden*, in case he should at any time make War upon his Enemies, to secure all things behinde him, and especially Sea-ward, nor to permit, that any State by the like Attempts in future, should challenge a passage by prescription, in the wrong and prejudice of those Northern Kingdoms.

But it is not materiall to discover at large that the Command of the Baltick Sea, and consequently the power and right of prohibiting any Fleet of War, doth joyntly belong to these two Kingdoms, since there was never yet any dispute thereof between the said Kingdoms, neither have either of the Kings at any time interposed; when the other hath used or claimed

claimed his power against Intruders. We have an example of this in that Renowned King of Swedes the great *Gustavus Adolphus*, who was never controul'd or resisted, whilst he destroyed that Fleet, which the Duke of *Fridland* had provided in the Baltick Sea, under the Commission of the German Emperour *Ferdinand* the Second. In the like manner, when *Christian* the Fourth King of *Denmark* gave chase to a ship, which under Commission from the King of *Poland* would have exacted Customs, near the City of *Dantzick*, the King of Swedes never expressed any dislike. The same thing is likewise testified at large by the severall writings of those Kings then published.

Sure it is, that the Swedes might yield to the Danes desires, that the third Article of the transaction of *Roskild*, as also at *Tostrop* was set down in this form : *That no Enemy should be permitted to send a Fleet of War into the Baltick Sea.* But in this sense, as the Danish Commissioners themselves expounded it, that no foreign Fleet under what pretence soever should pass into the said Sea, though not esteem'd enemy to one of the Nations, and that in this case Foreign and Enemy were words Synonymous, and equivalent. Hence it was, that to make it the more apparent, in the said third Article those two appellations went together, chiefly because the Danes pretended the word Enemy must therefore be added, lest other States might thence apprehend matter of dislike or suspicion.

But indeed the Danes, who in their own Right, and also by virtue of the Agreement at *Roskild*, were oblig'd to joyn with his Majesty of *Sweden*, in prohibiting all foreign Fleets from the Baltick Sea, to preserve themselves from a publique guilt of violating the Peace, steer'd a quite contrary course, and that they might put a stop upon the procedes of the Swedes successes in War, used all artifice to extricate and acquit themselves from that obligation.

But the Danes
seek to elude,

Which to accomplish they thought a fit opportunity presented it self in the debates of the League wherein they might flyly elude and change that absolute Covenant of excluding foreign Fleets from the Baltick Sea into a Conditionall one, or to speak plainly, to defer it to a day and time not at all pre-

By limiting
the third Arti-
cle at their
pleasure to
have this sense.

fix'd. For although that often cited third Article of the transaction at *Roskild* doth clearly affirm, that either of these confederate Kings was bound, not onely by all means possible to hinder the passage of any Forreign Fleet of War by the Sound into the Baltick Sea, but also that no other Prince besides the said Kings, should presume to furnish or use any Fleet of War in that Sea: yet the Danish Commissioners had the confidence to limit that Obligation in their Projects, that it was to be understood, when those Wars, the Swede was now engag'd in, should be ended; and that not till then they were oblig'd to the performance, as it evidently appears by the fourth and fifth Article of the Danish Projects last by them produced.

That it should
be of no force
till the present
Wars should
be ended.

But this possibly might be pass'd by, had they not abus'd the true and evident meaning, with forc'd interpretations. For whereas the Swedish Ambassadors did plainly demonstrate; that that added condition, or to speak truly, the delaying of mutual aid was needless; for that there was no intent to involve the Kingdom of *Denmark* in the Wars the Swedes then had in hand; but rather the promis'd Assistance was onely Naval, consisting in a certain definite number of ships sufficiently appointed, which the Kingdom of Sweden could not stand in need of, neither against the Muscovite, Pole, nor Emperour of Germany, (then King of Hungary and Bohemia) forasmuch as none of these were powerful at Sea; and that the League had reference onely to those, who being no neighbours to the Baltick Sea, should attempt to infringe the just Dominion of those Kings. To which the Danes gave this answer, That no Forreigner, during the Swedes Wars with the Muscovite, Pole, or the House of *Austria* of the Imperial Line, would dare attempt to enter those Seas with any Fleet, unless he were Friend or Confederate to one of those forenamed Enemies of the Swedes; and for that reason it would be no new War but the continuation of the present. The Danes therefore insisted upon that Clause, *When the War shall be ended, which the Swedes have now in hand*: adding further diverse sharp speeches, which would be too long here to relate.

Now forasmuch as that Treaty of the League did comprehend

hend matters of two kinds, to wit, the Consequences of the Agreement at *Roskild*, which were therefore of perpetual Obligation; and such things as should arise from that particular Convention, and were to be in force after the Peace was ratified, and therefore ought to be restrained to a time certain: the Swedish Ambassadors, as the nature and condition of those things required, alwayes carefully observed that difference in their Proposals, as is very evident from the twelfth Article. But the Danes, who thought it a sufficient discharge of their duty, if they did wilfully pursue their own method, though they were often advised of it, yet in the fourth, fifth, and tenth Article of their Proposal, made mixture and confusion of all things; intending that whatsoever was contained in the Treaty of the League, was all to commence from the Ratification thereof, and would have it in force onely for the twelve Years following, not regarding that those things which concern the defence of the Dominion in the Baltick Sea, did binde them to a perpetual obligation from the time of the Peace made, as the Covenants themselves held it forth. That aid also, which was to be supplied by either Nation, for the excluding of Forreign Fleets of War out of the Baltick Sea, as was the tenor of the Agreement, fell under the same confusion. For it was in all things couch'd under the same Qualifications with those Supplies, which by vertue of the League to ensue, to wit, in case either King should be assailed, the other was oblig'd to afford onely for twelve years following, and to the certain number of ten ships onely. Truly, it seems, they had no other ground herein, but that they thought the Swedes fit to be deluded with such open Impostures, and out of a natural hatred to the Nation, esteemed them so stupid and sottish, that they could not discover their Agreements to be frustrated and avoided by devices and shifts. And, if we must be plain, it appears, that had not some of ours been too credulous, and trusted too much to the ingenuity of the Danes, the Swedish Ambassadors had not perhaps been satisfied with that Exposition the Danes made at *Roskild*, nor by their own easiness had encourag'd them to attempt the same course at *Copenhagen*.

Therefore when the Swedish Ambassadors observ'd that

And the
Swedes, seeing
their false in-
tentions, are
forced to break
off.

the Danes endeavoured by those forc'd limitations utterly to evacuate and render useless the ensuing League; and that those sinister suspicions, which the bare name and report of a mutual League between these Kingdoms might raise with foreign Nations, (for this Hobgoblin was almost daily produc'd like the Gorgon's Head) were only colourably pretended, and that their heat and affection to the conforming of a League which they express'd in words immediately after the Peace concluded, not only grew Lac-warm, but was utterly extinguished, and that their labour was fruitless, they were unwilling to be longer fed with vain hopes, especially since they had manifestly discovered that other heads had influence upon, and acted the Danish Counsels. Therefore they themselves were the first that brake off the Treaty, thinking it more safe and prudent, to expect a more serious return thereto, after the Wars, which the Swedes have now in hand, were ended, and that in the mean time what concerns the perfecting the Peace at *Roskild*, and the excluding Forreigners out of the Baltick Sea should be inserted into a particular Recess, which they call declarative. But as the Danish Commissioners did with all readiness embrace the former, so they utterly abandoned the latter, saying that it was to light a Candle to the Sun; if any man should in this point endeavour to enlighten or unfold the Articles at *Roskild*. One might be here at a stand whether the Danes may more justly be taxed of ingratitude or of imprudence, but that it is certain that the former is never seen but in the worst of men, the latter may sometimes fall upon good and worthy persons, and therefore is much more excusable. For to endeavour to abuse, and fraudulently to circumvent such a King, to whom by Divine Providence, and the prosperous success of his Forces, almost the whole Kingdom of *Denmark* lay vanquish'd, and who might have sacrific'd it to his revenge, if his just fury had set it on fire, and might have made the whole Nation Exiles and Caitiffes; after Peace granted them, and the greatest part of their Territories, to the wonder of the whole world, restored; thus to requite such a King is most foul and detestable Ingratitude. Neither is it less imprudence then to discover the vileness of their minds,

when

when he yet remained in the bowells of their Kingdom with a most powerfull Army, and might have taken such vengeance on the violaters of Peace, as pleased him best. But as high and generous spirits are not easily provok'd to Revenge, especially if there be hopes of amendment, without the utter destruction of the faulty; so his Sacred Royall Majesty of *Sweden* chose rather to make proof by any course, whether the Danes might by reason and without force be wrought to their just Devoir. To which he thought nothing more expedient, then by a clear Declaration to set out the Covenants agreed at *Roskild*. And standing to the Treaty at *Roskild*, do publish it.

The reason of producing and declaring this Treaty at *Roskild*, as we said before, was this, because the Danes feigned divers complaints and grievances, accused the Swedes of opposing and violating the Peace lately concluded, made a sense that could not at all stand with the Agreements at *Roskild*, and quite contrary to the meaning of the Commissioners, and that besides some things were mutually promised in that transaction, which by necessary and unavoidable consequence concluded the alteration of the Agreements at *Bromsebroe* in many places. To put a timely stop upon this, and as much as layes in the power of humane providence, utterly to extirpate and root out such seeds of division, his most Serene Majesty of *Sweden* sent Positive Orders to those Ambassadors, which he had empowered to confirm the Peace, to use their especiall care and endeavours herein. Nor did they in this omit any thing, but still in performance of their duty, made it their onely aim and design to settle a lasting peace and quiet betwixt these Northern Nations. To this purpose they met the Danish Commissioners very often, and they used all kinde of dexterity and prudence to lay open all those things, which for the future might come into controversie, on purpose to give the Danes an opportunity to gratifie themselves. For what, pray, could have been more necessary for the Kingdom of *Denmark*, especially as their Affairs then stood, if out of sincerity of heart and a reall intention they had made a Peace? What more acceptable to God? What more glorious in the sight of the whole world, then for two Neighbour Kingdoms, professing the

That the Complaints and Grievances wherewith the Danes did blame the Swedes, might be removed.

Concerning
the Swedish
ships passing
through the
Sound.

the same Religion , together and at the same time to settle a Peace, and remove all those causes , that for the future might raise up any controverſie betwixt them ? Yet, for all this, the Danes, as if they had been poſſeſſ'd with a fatall blindeneſs, could never ſettle their mindes ſeriously to promote it. For though the Swediſh Ambaſſadours offered nothing , but what was juſt in it ſelf ; and the Danes could not finde any thing to carp at, onely they ſaid, they ſpent their pains to no purpoſe in explaining of that , which was clear enough in it ſelf , and did plainly expreſs the meaning of the Commiſſioners : yet being urged, for the prevention of all miſtakes , to ſet down what ever both Parties mutually agreed upon in writing , they brought in another form, putting ſuch a ſenſe upon the tranſaction at *Roskild* , as might in part weaken and deſtroy all the accrewments ariſing out of the Swediſh Ships paſſing the Sound or Baltick Sea , in part much infringe their freedom from Cuſtoms, which they were of neceſſity to enjoy, by vertue of the Laws and Statutes of the Nation , but moſt eſpecially by reaſon of the Agreements made at *Bromſebro*.

No man ſurely , unleſs byaſſed either by anger or malice, that knows the condition and commerce of theſe Northern Kingdoms, can perſwade himſelf, that the Swedes, who at that time might have acted their pleaſure upon the Danes , and had power enough to put Laws on their enemies , were ſo blinded as to make their condition worſe then it was formerly , eſpecially in ſo nice a point as Paſſeports and Certificates are, the form, right, and validity of which had with ſuch care and diligence been ſettled at *Bromſebro*.

You will ſcarcely too finde any , unleſs delighted to pick Cavils, that can put any other interpretation upon the fourth Article of the tranſaction at *Roskild* , eſpecially theſe words in the beginning ; *All and every Ship of Swethland, with what kinde of Merchandize ſoever they carry* : but that all the ſhips of *Sweden* with their Merchandize of what ſort ſoever, and to whom ſoever belonging, ought to paſs freely, and without paying any Cuſtoms , ſo that they have with them their Paſſ-ports , with the names of the Owners in them , if he well conſider the following words of the Article. Notwithſtanding

standing these things, the Danish Commissioners made a question both of the one and the other, as also of many other things that concern the concluding of the Peace; and had the confidence to defend it against all likelihood of truth, reason, the credit of the Records, and their knowledge, who were never absent at that transaction at *Roskild*.

But any man may with good probability affirm, that the Danes have not voluntarily performed in a manner any thing, to which they were oblig'd by the Agreement at *Roskild*, in that they put off most of them to a time not prefix'd; nor had ever performed them, had not the Affairs of his Sacred Royal Majesty of *Sweden*, arm'd him both with power and opportunity to have constrain'd them.

And concerning the substance of the whole Treaty at *Roskild*,

It would be too large a story, to relate all their crafty Devices, Pretences, Cavils, tedious Diversions and Procrastinations, by which the Danes hop'd they might shift off the conclusion of the Peace, and gain time till some emergent Wars or Troubles in other places might withdraw the Swedish Army out of *Denmark*. Therefore they fitted all their Treaties Executive to common Report and News, sometimes protracting them, as when it was reported that the Muscovite was levying a great Power, wherewith he would without doubt assail the Swedes in *Finland* and *Leifland*; or that the Cossacks had concluded a Peace with the Poles, and therefore that the Swedes had small hopes left them to compose their Differences there; or that the election of the then King of *Hungary* to be Emperor of *Germany*, could be no longer delayed, who together with the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, would undoubtedly raise Troubles on the Swedes, and draw them out of *Denmark*: on the other side, sometimes posting on their said Treaties upon contrary reports. So that whosoever shall compare the times of their Assemblies, according to the tenor of the Protocol, may observe, that the Danes made shew of intending the concluding of the Peace, and to stand to their promises, as the severall reports came, either that the Electour of *Brandenburgh* would not be oblig'd by the League made with the King of *Hungary* against the Swedes; or that the Swedish Ambassadour in *Russia* were restored again to liberty, and

The Danes defer the conclusion, according to the news which are bruited against Sweden.

and a War probably to be commenced between the Muscovite and the Pole : or that the election of the Emperour at *Franckfurt* was unexpectedly deferred ; or that the most Christian King of *France* together with the Lord Protector of *England*, had worsted the Spanish Army, with other matters of the like tendency.

And yet endeavour to lay the fault upon Sweden.

It was surely tedious enough to be thus born in hand with Treaties, but most tedious and offensive, that the Danes sought to clear themselves of the causes of all those delays, giving out not onely in *Copenhagen*, but in all parts abroad, that they had no sooner removed any one obstacle, but the Swede still put in another, that they might never want a quarrell to continue their Army in *Denmark* beyond the time agreed for their departure, to the utter wasting and ruine of their Countreys. But as all those things are false and feign'd, so they were alledged by the Danes to no other purpose, but that they might charge the Swedes with the fault of all their Procrastinations, and as far as they could be believed, render the Swedes odious to the world.

Thence also it was, that as soon as the Ambassadors came to *Copenhagen*, the Danes were not ashamed to accuse the Swedes, both by words and writing of not keeping the Peace, and renewed the same Complaints again not onely to them, but to his Sacred Royall Majesty of *Sweden* himself by *Owen Juul* at *Gothenburgh*, and that contrary to all reason, by wresting the Conditions to their own advantage, directly contrary to the precise words and tenor of the Agreement, as hereafter shall more largely be discovered,

Whereas they themselves would not bring a Register to keep the Protocoll.

Nor doth this seem to be done without some crafty intention, that the Danish Commissioners having heard that the Swedish Ambassadors did often alledge the authority of the Protocol, and from thence did plainly demonstrate the genuine sense of the instrument of Peace, and the very verball explication of the Commissioners of either party, would not bring with them a man, who for the information of Posterity might be wholly employed in this business, to insert into the Protocol or Registry all that was said and done in the several meetings. When they were put in minde of this by the Swedish Com-

Commissioners, they excus'd the absence of their Register, being a Noble Man and one of their Chancellours, who about the beginning of the Treaties, had for a moneth discharg'd that Office, but was now absent from the City: as if men fit for that employment were so scarce in *Denmark*, nor that a man in *Copenhagen* could be found fit to supply his place.

And this did not a little encrease our suspicion, that the Danish Commissioners, though they were often advertis'd of it, could never be perswaded to furnish Persons with a full power for the Executive Treaties. Indeed it cannot be denied, that at the first meeting for the making of this League, the Commissioners of either party were plenipotentiary delivering and changing each with other full and sufficient Commissions of the same tenour: but those did principally regard the League onely, and when that was over, being the principle matter, they could be of no further force, as appears clearly out of the Plenipotentiary Commissions of the Swedish Ambassadors, Letter S. Wherefore the Swedish Ambassadors being instructed with new power from their King, acquainted the Danes therewith, shewing them the Original and Authentick Commissions, and offering them to take Copies of them, instantly pressing them, that they would be prepar'd with the like, that the solemnity of the whole transaction might be clear and manifest. But all this labour was fruitless; neither have the Danes to this day performed what they had so often promis'd.

Nor would they be perswaded to furnish persons with full power to treat and conclude.

Letter S.

But it had been no hard matter for them to have procur'd the like sufficient Commissions (which were the very foundation and essentiall part of the Treaties) when the Swede supplied them with the forms. Nor could they pretend forgetfulness, who had been so often put in minde of it. Nor was it a new and unusual course in the beginning of any Treaty to exchange such Commissions, for that a few weeks before, upon the first meeting about the League, the same ceremony had been used.

Out of all which, as it is easie to collect what the Danes were working in their mindes, so it shall be yet more clearly discovered by a Narrative of some things concerning the Declarative and Executive Recess.

E

But

Concerning
the Duke of
Holstein.

The wrongs
done unto
him.

But before we descend to a full discourse of them, it will not be unfit briefly to hint, how the Danes carried themselves touching the satisfaction they promised to the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*. There had been an ancient controversie between the House of *Holstein* of the *Gottorpien* Line, and the Kings of *Denmark*, who are also Dukes of *Holstein*, concerning the Chapter of *Sleswick*, and the Jurisdiction of *Swabsted*, of which the moiety by clear Right had belonged to the foresaid Dukes of *Holstein* for seventy years past. Neverthelesse the Kings of *Denmark* had taken to themselves the whole Chapter and Jurisdiction, not regarding the frequent solicitations, by which the Dukes of *Holstein* had endeavoured to have the matter decided by Arbitratours indifferently chosen for the consideration of their right.

Likewise at the beginning of this War, the Danish Souldiers had so grieved the Subjects of the forementioned Duke with continuall exactions, that worse could scarce have been expected from an enemy, and that the condition of the most Serene Duke was worse then those of the Nobility, who by reason of the communion of Government were obnoxious to the power of the King of *Denmark*.

Those Territories had undergone the self-same fate in the Wars, which *Christian* the Fourth had wag'd first with *Ferdinand* the second, Emperor of *Germany*, and afterward with the King of *Swedes*, and the said Duke was oppress'd with the charge of a War, which he had neither advis'd, nor as the Union of the Kingdom of *Denmark* with the Dukes of *Sleswick* expressly required, approved, and that onely under this pretence, that as he was Duke of *Sleswick*, he was a Vassall of *Denmark*, and that in the administration thereof, as also of the Dutchy of *Holstein*, he took turns with the Kings of *Denmark*.

Hereto may be added, that *Bille* General of *Denmark*, having been directed to that purpose by *Gersdorffe* high Steward of the Kingdom, contriv'd plots for the gaining of the Dukes Ports, and thereby seiz'd the strong Rampire of *Stapelholme*.

Therefore when the Duke found by sad experience, that it was his lot to be undeservedly embroyl'd in all the Wars of

Den-

Denmark, and that, although he was possess'd of the Dutchy of *Sleswick* in *Frank Fee*, yet he was made a common prey to both sides, he bethought himself, as with justice he might, how to quit himself of the burthen of that Vassallage, and communion in the Government of the Dutchies; and not onely to assert his right to the moiety of the Chapter of *Sleswick*, and Jurisdiction of *Swabsted*, together with so many years fruits, but to obtain due recompence for the wrong he had susteined.

For the more easie effecting whereof, his Majesty of *Sweden* being thereto oblig'd both by the bonds of bloud and alliance, as also for that he had suffered much from the Danes out of the hatred they bare to the Swedes, offered his assistance, straitly enjoyning those, who were sent to conclude the Peace, that they should have an especial regard to that business.

Wherein the Swedes endeavour to see him righted.

Nor were the Swedish Commissioners wanting in that charge, and they drew the whole matter to this head, that the Danish Commissioners consented to those three demands; to wit, of the Jurisdiction of *Swabsted*, and Chapter of *Sleswick*, whereof they had claimed the one half in their own Right; the other in lieu of profits received, unless they would make satisfaction otherwise; likewise concerning the discharging him from the burthen of Fealty, and lastly to the surcease of the communion in the government and administration of those Dutchies. And the Swedish Commissioners were earnestly urg'd by those Gentlemen which had mediated, that they would acquiesce upon those concessions. But when the Swedish Commissioners did require of them to deliver into their hands the City of *Rendsburgh* in satisfaction of the wrong done, and also for future caution, that the Duke might be put to no further trouble, and the Danes precisely and peremptorily denied it; neither had the Swedish Commissioners any power to dispence with the rendry of the City to the Dukes prejudice, the dispatch of the whole matter was referred to the coming of the Ambassadors of *Holstein* who were expected every moment, yet so as that business should make a peculiar Article in the Treaty of *Roskild*, by force whereof a just satisfaction was promised to be made to the said Duke before the second day of *May*.

Which the Danes having promised, do not perform.

Indeed it cannot be denied that the words of the Article are generall, neither is the satisfaction restrain'd to those four demands, on which the Swedish Commissioners did insist in the name of the said Duke; yet since the Danes in the presence of those Mediatours had then already promis'd the three former, which might not be put in writing, onely because the Danes were alwayes nosing the Swedes with the narrowness of the Dukes Commission, it was scarcely possible that any man should harbour so hard a thought of the Danes, that they should have the boldness to question the truth of those things, which had been done and declar'd in the presence of so many witnesses, persons beyond all exception; and especially when the King of *Denmark* himself had given manifest hopes to the Ambassadour of the French King to that purpose.

Yet notwithstanding as soon as they came to *Copenhagen*, and began to treat about satisfaction with the delegates of *Holstein*, the Danes there turn'd faces about, were quite of another minde, and sometimes by denying what they had promised at *Roskild* in the presence of those Gentlemen that mediated, sometimes by seeking out new shifts and refuges, suffered the whole time to lapse that was prefix'd them. And to discover themselves the more, they intimated to Sir *Philip Meadows* the English Envoy Extraordinary a Protest, Let. *T.* wherein they endeavored to lay all the blame on the delegates of *Holstein*, for hindering the dispatch of the affair, and declar'd their willingness to refer that controversie to Arbitratours, never considering that that way of composing of difference in this business had been so often made use of without the least effect. Hence it is, that they can never make good their Protest to any, that do not take promise for performance. For the Danes being bound by the 22. Article of the Treaty at *Roskild*, in full and precise words to make satisfaction to the most Serene the Duke of *Holstein*, before the second day of *May*; it was not enough for them to expresse a willingness to submit to those things, which Arbitratours chosen by either party would have had adjudged; nor were they to be accounted to have given any satisfaction in it, in that they desir'd onely to delay the business by bare promises. Besides the business of satisfaction ought
not

not to have been agreed by Arbitratours, but by Commissioners of either party, although that way too, had the Danes been willing to have had the controversie decided, the matter might have been brought to a speedy issue, and according to the Proposals of the Ambassadors of *Sweden* with the consent of those of *Holstein*, referred by both Parties to the arbitrement of those Gentlemen that were Mediatours. But this relish'd not well with the Danes, who made as great a business about the narrowness of their Commission, as if they had been to renew it in some forreign Countrey. The truth of it is, the Danes declin'd the putting of it to the Arbitration of those Gentlemen that were Mediatours, because they well knew, that they were privy to all the promises they had made at *Roskild*, and therefore could expect no good success in so bad a cause, where the Judges understood the whole matter. Nay, as if the Danes had accounted it some great sin to perform what they had engag'd their faith to, there were some amongst them that would have the Peace broken under the pretence of the *Holstein* business, and that there were such kinde of Contrivances cherished in the Danish Court, the French Ambassadour *Monsieur Hugo Trelon* informed his Sacred Royall Majesty of *Sweden* his Ambassadors at *Copenhagen*. A thing indeed so much the more likely, in that they made use of *Alfeld* to compose the *Holstein* Controversies, being the same man that with his Collegues of his own name had used all his endeavours and artifices to perswade, that the treaties with the Swedes might be brought at least to give way for some entry for their Confederates. Hence it was, that both of them, who were deputed by the Danes for the business of *Holstein*, instead of satisfaction presumed to raise menaces against the most Serene Duke, spreading abroad that the Swedish Army would not be there for ever, under whose countenance he might impose such unjust things on the Danes. As if it were unjust for one to challenge that, which for seventy years past had contrary to all Law and Right been detain'd from him; or to shake off that yoke from his shoulders, which without the least fault in him hath involv'd him thrice in a bloody War; or lastly to desire reparation for the loss he had sustained.

At last after many long debates, the Swedish Ambassadors told the Danes to their faces, that though they perform'd every thing else, yet if they did not this too, the Swedish Army should not march away, by which means that controversie was laid aside, though neither any time appointed, nor those things gained, which had been heretofore promis'd at *Roskild*. And this by the way.

Nor would they descend, that there should be a particular recess concerning the Defence of Superiority and Right in the Baltick Sea. Letter II.

When therefore, as we said before, the Danes being perswaded by the suggestions of others, had fraudulently and maliciously fram'd a form of the League, and given sufficient cause to break up the Treaties, the Ambassadors of *Sweden* inserted into a particular Recess that Article, that concern'd the defence of Superiority and Right in the Baltick Sea, as also other points that tended to the plainer declaration of the Third Article of the Agreements at *Roskild*. For there was no reason, why the Danes should refuse to confirm it, forasmuch as that Article, *Letter V.* was taken out of the Articles approv'd by the Commissioners of each Party when the League was drawn, with which it did in all things suit, as is sufficiently evident by the comparing of those Articles.

But let us observe the carriage of the Danes herein. When they saw themselves cast into this necessity, either by admitting that point to abandon the opportunity, by which under some pretence and colour of Right they might quit themselves from the Agreement at *Roskild*, and especially from the obligation of the Third Article; or else by abrupt refusall they must discover their purpose hitherto conceal'd, which was not to be bound to a perpetuall observance of the Treaty at *Roskild*, they chose the safer way, contending that the Treaty at *Roskild* as to this point was clear of it self, and needed no other explication; and that they did stick to the same meaning, which that point in the Swedish Project did hold forth. At least, to shun the suspicion, which other Nations might thence apprehend, that they would not permit that that Article should be so clearly inserted in a particular Recess, as also they alwayes omitted it in their declarative Project.

Hence it being obvious to the Swedish Ambassadors, what a viper was here hatching, they did demonstrate to the Danes

at

at severall meetings, how necessary and behooffull it was not to omit that Article, for that it might be a means to prevent all indirect craft, which might be working in future times by the various interpretations upon that third point of the Treaty at *Roskild*: however that it was absolutely necessary, that his Majesty of *Sweden* should be most clearly certified of the Danes sincerity and true meaning towards him; neither was it a thing new and unheard of in matters of so great a moment, that though they seem clearly set down, yet they should have the most plain and particular explication, that nothing be left to subtle wits to wrest and abuse. But if they onely stuck at the suspicion that might arise amongst people of other Nations, there were divers wayes to remove that scruple. For that matter might either be comprehended in some secret Article, or that verball exposition of the Danish Commissioners might by their consent be inserted into the Protocoll or Registry, and subscribed by each party for future information, that it might be impossible hereafter to raise any doubt of the genuine sense of the Article, or of the meaning of those that made it. But as they did onely make use of the suspicion of other Nations, to hinder the dispatch of the affairs; so that, which the Swedes propounded, could not possibly be acceptable to the Danes. For how, say they, can that be kept secret, to which not onely two Kings, but the Senatours of both the Kingdoms with many others are privy. And further they said they had no such Instructions from their King, and were already satisfied that they should never be Commissioned to draw up any secret Article with the Swedes to that purpose. At length being urg'd with great instance by the Swedes, they did consent that that verball explication concerning the genuine sense of the third Article of the Treaty at *Roskild* should be noted in due form in the Protocoll or Registry, onely to that purpose, that it might afterwards be omitted in the peculiar Recess.

Nor that the explication of the words of the third Article of the Treaty at *Roskild* should be made a secret Article,

Or brought into a particular Recess.

Wherefore the Swedish Ambassadors being duly mindfull that the Danes had formerly taken the boldness to disparage the Authority of the Protocol at *Roskild*, reputing it onely a private Writing, and such as could carry no plenary proof, they

they saw there was little force and security in that concession of the Danes, yea no more, then was in their bare verbal Declaration. For it was to be fear'd, that they would hereafter, as formerly, deny that that Annotation was made in the Protocol by their consent and privity, chiefly, because there was none present of their party that was appointed to perfect the Protocol, as hath formerly been said. Therefore it was thought necessary that both the Swedish and Danish Commissioners should seal and subscribe this part of the Protocol. And so it was propounded to the Danes, who onely deluded the Swedes, and rejected them in this demand, using recourse to their old Plea of wanting Commission. At last, when after much hot contention, the Swedish Ambassadors could not be prevail'd withal by such frivolous excuses, they put off the visor, and were forc'd to discover, what they had rather have reserv'd in their breasts till a more commodious time, to wit, that they could in no wayes approve the Swedes Project in reference to the Baltick Sea; that that said Project did not faithfully explain the Agreements at *Roskild*, to which they were resolv'd to stick; that it would not be in their power to alter any word or tittle in those things, which both Kings together with the Senate of either Kingdom had ratified. Furthermore that it would be very absurd in them to binde themselves to the excluding of all Forreign Fleets whatsoever from the Baltick Sea, whereas by force of the Agreements at *Roskild*, they were oblig'd onely to the excluding of such Fleets as should come with Hostility, not those which should come either to convoy Merchants ships, or to relieve their friends, or else to transport Ambassadors and other publique Ministers from place to place.

Or subscribed
in a Protocoll,

Pretending
sometimes
want of Com-
mission.

But at last dis-
cover their
purpose was
not to conde-
scend to the ex-
clusion of for-
reign men of
War from the
Baltick Sea.

The Swedish Commissioners had just cause to wonder at this had they not made sufficient proof before that the Danes dealt not clearly in this Treaty, and that their words and thoughts were far different: yet they could never have had imagined, that the Danes should have the boldness publicly to utter that which hitherto by reason of the apparent foulness thereof they had sought to palliate and dissemble by so many far-fetch'd colours and glosses. For, as we have above-noted,

the

the Danish Commissioners had formerly affirm'd in precise words, that they did maintain and hold the same Exposition that the Swedish Project did, concerning the third Article; neither had they refused that the Exposition they declared should for the greater certainty be set down in the Protocol or Registry: nay, what is more, in their drawing up of the League to be made with the Swedes, being a second time exhibited in writing, they held forth the said third Article in the very same form; so that they could not deny it now without horrible impudence, especially since those Danish Commissioners, who were present at the Treaties at *Roskild*, did readily affirm, that a Forreign and Hostile Fleet in this case were Synonymous, and of the same import.

Contrary to
former trans-
actions,

and express
Declarations
at the Treaty
at *Roskild*.

Besides, to speak the truth, as the right of Convoying hath its original from the right of the Superiority of the Territories, and no one ought justly to convoy any one through the Territories of another; so no one can justly exercise that Right in the Baltick Sea, which hath been by general consent of all the Borderers on that Sea, time out of minde, and without any interruption, under the tuition and custody of these two Northern Kingdoms onely. Yea, the States General themselves in all their Leagues entred into with the Kingdom of Sweden, do acknowledge their Dominion in the Baltick Sea, never adjudging it from that Kingdom.

And the ac-
knowledge
Priviledges of
both King-
doms.

And how, pray, is it possible, that any one should assist another, who is an enemy to either one of these Kings, and not be accounted an enemy in doing it? Or who yet ever grew to that height of madness, to say, that any thing was altered, because it is declar'd in more words the better to explain it? Surely the Danes were possess'd with a new principle of Religion, that they could not with safety of conscience put an interpretation on that now, which a few dayes ago they presum'd wholly to deny, or at least to lessen much. Yet at last they came thus near the mark, that a Forreign Fleet of War should be prohibitted from coming into the Baltick Sea, but that passage should not be denied to so many ships of War as did not make up a Fleet, which are sent to transport Ambassadors, or do any offices of the like nature.

But the King of Sweden insisting resolutely upon former agreements,

At last condescend thereunto, but not till the Moneth of July, after the Treaty at *Roskild*.

In the interim news comes of the preparation of a great Fleet at the solicitation of the Polish and Brandenburgish publick Ministers
Letter X.

Whereof notice is given to the Danes by the King, and by Count *Wrangel*,

That a Fleet might be made ready to guard the Sound,

When therefore they had shew'd the Danes at large, how unjustly they proceeded in this and in many other businesses, and withall in expresse words added this threatening Language, that it was to be fear'd, that his Sacred Royal Majesty of Sweden perceiving too evidently that the Danes would not yield to those Agreements at *Roskild*, and that in a matter and Article of so great moment, would endeavour to procure his security some other way, since he could not obtain it, as it now appears by Treaties and Compositions in writing. At last the Danish Commissioners, and principally the high Steward *Joachim Gersdorff*, but not until the Moneth of July, declar'd themselves, that they did in all things approve of, and were well pleas'd with the Swedish Project in this business; and that they were willing to exhibit that point engros'd in writing a thing, which though they were often urg'd to, they never yet performed.

In the mean time whilst these things are in agitation at *Copenhagen*, news was brought that there was a Fleet preparing in *Holland* to be sent forthwith, as the report went, into the Baltick Sea. That which encreas'd the rumor, was, that there was an Envoy from the King of *Poland* negotiating with the States of *Holland*, and also a Minister of *Brandenburgh* then Resident at the *Hague*, who implor'd their aid by Sea, Letter X. in the name of his Master the Elector, who was much afraid of the Swede. Hence the Ambassadors of *Sweden*, according to the command of his Majesty, thought it fitting for them to acquaint the Danish Commissioners with it, and to desire them to make ready some ships, and if there were occasion, to joyn with the Swedes in stopping the passage of a Forreign Fleet. His Sacred Royal Majesty of Sweden signified the same to them first himself, and then gave command that it should be done at *Gottorp* to *Owen Juul* the Danish Ambassador, and after that Count *Wrangell* high Admiral of the Kingdom declar'd it again in discourse with *Ulrick Christian Gyldenlowe* Lieutenant General of the Horse to the King of *Denmark*, in these expresse words, that he would not stir thence with his Army, till they had given satisfaction according to the Agreements at *Roskild*, in that particular. Then the Danes were very large

in expressing their want and disability; and that by reason of the War, they were lately engag'd in, they were reduced to such straits and extremity, that it was to no purpose to desire any such thing of them. His most Serene Majesty therefore, that he might not seem to demand Impossibilities of them, requir'd by his Ambassadors that they would onely give out, that they made ready their whole Fleet, but indeed onely fit out eight ships for the service, which together with the Swedish Fleet consisting of forty ships, might be able without any great difficulty to keep out a Forreign Fleet. But the Danish Commissioners complain'd of their want of ability to do this too, never remembring that in their own Project of a League, they had already of their own accord offered to set out ten ships. Every man therefore may see, how vain and false this pretence was, in that they had every thing in great abundance, which was requisite for the furnishing of eight ships. For there was no want of ships nor other necessities, as guns, sails, anchors, ropes, and other such kinde of provision. They had store of Mariners too, and victuals, of which they had already brought to *Coppenhagen*, or might have brought a large supply from the Castle of *Bahuse* and the fortified places of *Schonen*. But they would not hear in that ear, and made their whole pretence nothing but so many Impossibilities.

At last to avoid their making ready a Fleet, the Danish Commissioners said, that they would prevail with the States General, that no Fleet should be made ready there to send into the Baltick Sea. But with what candor and fidelity they perform'd it, the Letters of *Benningen*, Letter Y. written upon that subject will sufficiently declare. For they were so far from endeavouring to hinder it, that they affirm'd to the aforesaid *Benningen*, that they had wholly refus'd the Declaration of the third Article at *Roskild*, and the joyning of their ships with the Swedes, which would admit that Article, and that the Swedish Commissioners rested content with that Declaration; and all this out of no other intention, but the more to provoke the Hollanders to make ready their Fleet. Yet it is very remarkable that afterwards, that they might not seem to do nothing, they went about the fitting of one Man of War, but

But the Danes pretend inability to set out a Fleet.

Whereupon the Swedes desire but eight ships to joyn with their Fleet.

Which the Danes also refuse to do.

Notwithstanding their sufficient ability to do it.

Promising to prevail with the States General not to send any Fleet to the Baltick Sea.
Letter Y.

Although to *Benningen* they declare the contrary.

whether to mischief and spoil the Swede, or to side with them no body knows. For it were a strange vanity, to expect fidelity in them, who never had so much as a will to keep their promises.

A sharp dispute doth arise concerning the Dominion of the Island of *Ween*.
Letter Z.
Letter A A.
Letter B B.

There was as sharp a dispute too about the Island *Ween*; for when his Sacred Royall Majesty of *Sweden* had summoned the Inhabitants by his Commissioners to come with the rest of the people of *Schonen*, to take an Oath of Allegiance to him, they received contre-command from the King of *Denmark*, Letter Z. and so obey'd it not, though they were summon'd a second time, Letter A. A. as the Relation of the Lords Commissioners in *Schonen* unfolds it at large, Letter B. B.

For this reason the Swedish Ambassadors then Resident at *Copenhagen* did at large, and with much pains, demonstrate the injustice of that action in the King of *Denmark*, and that the Island *Ween* belong'd to *Schonen*.

Proofs that it belongs to the Province of *Schonen*.

For it is a firm and undoubted Law among the more civiliz'd Nations, that all those Islands, which make not particular Provinces of themselves, are part of those Provinces, to which they are next adjacent, unless it can plainly be prov'd either by contract or prescription of the longest time that something else was in force concerning the same. Now because the Danes themselves did not deny, that *Ween* was not a Province of it self, it was presum'd according to the Law of Nations, that it belongs to *Schonen*, to which it is next adjacent. Which presumption of the Law being on the Swedes side, the proof of the contrary lay upon the Commissioners of *Denmark*.

Besides, the Island of *Ween* was still liable to the same fortune with *Schonen*, not onely then, when it was given in pawn to the Counts of *Holfstein*, and afterwards redeemed by the Swedes, and united to that Kingdom by the Danes consent, Letter C. C. D. D. but also when it was restored again to *Denmark* by the King *Magnus Smech*. Which doubtless had never so fell out, had it not been part of *Schonen*.

Thirdly, if we give any credit to the Northern Historians, it is manifest enough that the ancient bounds of the Swedes and Gothes reach'd to the middle of the Sound. And upon this ground he challeng'd *Ween* as belonging to *Schonen*, in as much

much as there must be some reason for the determined middle of that Sea. Yea *Arnold Huithfeld* and *Isaack Pontanus* do not deny that the ancient limits of *Sweden* and *Schonen* were agreed upon to be in the very Channell of the Sound, as their words taken out of the publique Instruments have it, Letter E. E. The credit of these men no Dane will dare to question, in regard the one being Chancellour of the Kingdom of *Denmark* was both a great lover of his Countrey, and very much knowing in that History; the other being a Dane born too, was hired by his Nation to compose the Annals of his Countrey, and published that Work of his, collected out of the Records of the Kingdom, by the authority and at the charge of King *Christian* the Fourth. What will they say, that in the Reign of *Christopher* the first of *Denmark*, long before *Schonen* was pawn'd to the Counts of *Holstein*, *Ween* was subject to the Diocess of *Lunden*, and received Laws and Commands from the Archbishop there, under the quality of Bishop of *Schonen*. Hence it is no wonder, that in all the alienations it went constantly with *Schonen*, as we said before. Yet suppose that *Ween* did not at first belong to *Schonen*, yet it cannot be denied, that at that time when it was pawn'd and redeem'd, it was added to *Schonen* under the King *Magnus Smech*, and made parcell of it. Letter EE.

Fourthly, The Letters of the grant of *Schonen*, Letter F F. do in plain words affirm, that *Schonen* was granted to the King and Kingdom of *Sweden*, with all the Appurtenances that either now belong or ever heretofore have belonged to it. But the Island of *Ween* did, as to its secular Jurisdiction, not onely at the time of the Grant (as the Constitution of *Christian* the Fourth, Letter GG. HH. written in the Book of Records of *Schonen*, and the avoiding or revocation of it, Letter II. by *Frederick* the Third now King of *Denmark*; at last after a Peace was concluded, and when it could not then be well avoided, doth plainly enough show) belong to *Schonen*, but long before, when *Schonen* was subject to *Sweden* (which time we are principally to observe in this case) was united to that Province, and with the same Province disunited from the Kingdom of *Sweden*, as *Huithfeld*, *Pontanus*, and very many others plainly affirm. Letter FF. Let. GG. HH. Letter II.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, It can scarcely be denied, but that his Sacred Royal Majesty of *Sweden* did at least propose that to himself by the late Agreement, to restore to his own Countrey of *Sweden*, together with *Schonen*, whatsoever had been formerly with *Schonen* taken away from *Sweden*; especially that the ancient Bounds of *Sweden*, which were in the middle of the *Sound*, should revert to him again.

Sixthly, It is an Argument that the King of *Denmark* was willing for satisfaction to grant to his most Serene Majesty of *Sweden*, all that formerly with *Schonen* had been wrested from *Sweden*, in as much as when he granted away many other Provinces to *Sweden*, yet he reserv'd not in express words the Island of *Ween* to himself and the Kingdom of *Denmark*.

Besides, the Author of the Book written in the Danish Language, and entituled, *Danmarks oc Norgis fructbar Herlighed*, or, *The fruitful Dominion of Denmark and Norway*, doth plainly confess, that *Ween* doth properly belong to *Schonen*, unless by special Priviledge and Grant from the King, something be constituted to the contrary.

The Danish Commissioners were not a little employed to put a face of Justice upon their denial of it; but they did chiefly endeavour to perswade the Gentlemen, that were Mediatours, that the Demand of the Swedes was wholly unjust; and that there never was any one, that had the boldness to deny, that *Ween* was part of *Sealand*. They exhibitted the causes of this their assertion in writing, Letter KK. and to put the fairer cheat on them, divided them into two Classes, of which the first should prove, that *Ween* was not granted to *Sweden*, the latter that it was a part of *Sealand*.

But now as to what concerns the first Argument, that that Island was expressly named and demanded at *Wordinburgh* in satisfaction by the Swedish Commissioners, but at *Tostrop* and *Roskild* was omitted and pass'd by in silence, and therefore that it was laid aside, that truly makes little to the purpose. For *Ween* indeed was by name demanded at *Wordinburgh*, as also *Saltholm*, *Anholt*, *Lessow*, *Bornholm*, &c. together with *Schonen*, *Halland*, and *Blecking*, but without that clause, *With all the Appurtenances*, which the Swedish Commissioners therefore counted

Which the
Danes seek to
avoid.

Letter KK.

By some Ar-
guments,
which the Swe-
dish answer.

The first Ar-
gument of the
first Classis.

counted superfluous, because at that time they were perswaded, that all the Appurtenances of those Provinces were reckoned in those Islands, by reason they did not exactly know whether *Salholm* did not belong to *Schonen* as well as *Ween*, and were in a doubt whether *Anholt* and *Lessow* were parts of *Holland*. But when afterwards it appear'd very certainly to them, that *Ween* was part of *Schonen*, and that it was to be fear'd that there were yet more Islands appertenant to it; whose names they knew not, the Swedish Commissioners thought it not so necessary to express any Islands specifically at *Tostrup* and *Roskild*, but rather to comprehend them all in that generall clause, *with all the Appurtenances*, lest by naming more Islands, they should prejudice themselves in others belonging to the Provinces that were to be surrendred, the names of which at that time they were not acquainted with; and give the Danes an occasion by inserting of one to collect that the other was excluded, and upon that ground to deny that *Hitterroo*, and other such like Islands, do belong to the Coasts of *Trundheim*, because they were not expressly named.

Besides, it being supposed, that at that time, to wit, in the first Project, (though there was never any such thing) *Ween* was demanded as a thing apart and separate from *Sealand*, yet you cannot thence infer, that it is not comprehended under the generall clause of Appurtenances; if we can, as it may be easily done, make out that it either doth at this time belong to *Schonen*, or formerly did belong to it. Thirdly, it is a common Maxime, That a superfluous clause doth neither good nor hurt.

Lastly, no man can without manifest injury to the truth affirm, that the Danes did expressly reserve the Island *Ween* to themselves, in that they made Answer to the first Project, that they could not agree to that satisfaction, in which *Ween* was expressly named, because at that very same time they would not agree to give *Bornholm*, and the Dominion of *Buhuse* and *Trundheim* in satisfaction, which Provinces and Dominions nevertheless they afterward granted together with *Schonen*, *Holland* and *Blocking* with all their appurtenances.

The other Argument of the first Classe, to wit, that the most
Serene.

The second argument of the first Classis.

Serene his Majesty of *Sweden* did not demand the Island *Ween*, till after the time of the Surrendry of *Schonen* was expired, and after the Swedish Commissioners had had possession of all *Schonen* with its appertenances, and that *Ween* was without controversie and contradiction left to the Danes, is much like the former. For all circumstances being well considered, the contrary will plainly appear, and first in that, as soon as the places of defence in a Province are once given in possession, all Countrey Villages and Parishes, which belong to that Province, are accounted to be at the same time given in possession, which very thing also was made before the delivery of the ratification. Besides, the Swedish Commissioners summoned the Inhabitants of *Ween* together with those of *Schonen*, to perform Homage, and take an Oath of Fealty: which when they were not then present to do, and gave no answer to the Letters that were sent thither to that purpose, then his Sacred Royall Majesty of *Sweden*, after it came to his knowledge, was pleased to enjoin his Ambassadors then resident at *Copenhagen*, to shew what right they had to that Island, and to make demand of it from the Danes, that so the Inhabitants of *Ween* might be reduced without any further circumstances: this also he gave Order to his Deputies to signifie to *Owen Juul* Ambassadour of his Majesty of *Denmark* at *Gottenburgh*. For to have made mention of this before, had been altogether unseasonable, and to no more purpose, then if we should treat about the right of *Sweden*, to some Islands of *Norway* that are granted to it; before the Inhabitants thereof or any other should start any doubt about it. Lastly his most Sacred Royal Majesty of *Sweden* could not destroy his right, in that he did not presently at the very beginning take possession of the Island; for it is sufficient in Law, if any one upon better information of what his right is then before he had, shall challenge it before the time of the enjoyment of it be ended. As if in case it had hapned, that in the grant of the Dominions of *Trundheim* and *Bahuse* some of the Appertenances thereunto had been conceal'd by the Danes, which the Swedish Ministers and Commissioners being not very well skill'd in those places, had not presently demanded, this would not at all hinder, but that they in process of

time

time being better inform'd of the places belonging to it, and instructed with fit instruments, might claim that to themselves which had formerly been fraudulently concealed. Because the fraud of the Concealer doth in no wise dammage the appurtenances of him that deals justly, nor hinder him upon better information of what is his right, from demanding those things which were given him by Grant. And thus much for the Arguments of the first Classe.

For as to what concerns the latter, which should prove that *Ween* is a part of *Sealand*, this is the first, that that Island was both as to its Secular and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, at all times subject to *Sealand*. But how true it is, doth easily appear from what hath been said before. For we shew'd there, that that Island belong'd to *Schonen*, not onely in that time when it was pawn'd to the Counts of *Holstein*, but by a later Grant. For those Letters of *Christian* the Fourth, which are alledg'd to testify this, make nothing in the case; for he that looks upon them but superficially may perceive the contrary, and that it was for a peculiar reason, that it did at sometimes submit to the Provincial power of *Sealand*. But that *Ween* hath been formerly subject to the Bishop of *Sealand*, makes it no more a part of *Sealand*, then *Falstre*, *Laland*, *Langland*, and part of *Alsen*, which at this day are under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Odensea*, are by reason of that, parts of *Fuhnen*. The very Kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Denmark* themselves were formerly under the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Hamburgh*, which nevertheless had no other dependency from it.

The second
Classis, the
first argument.

The second Argument of the Danes is, that those of *Ween* use the same Language and Dialect with those of *Sealand*. But no one is so blinde, as that he cannot see the weakness of this Argument. If all the Inhabitants of *Amack*, as a part of them doth, should speak the Dutch Language, yet no body, by the Danes good leave, would conclude that therefore *Amack* is under the Government of *Holland*. So all the Inhabitants of the Island of *Nockoe*, onely of all *Eastland*, speak the Swedish Language, yet doubtless that Island is a part of *Eastland*. He must be ignorant of all Antiquity, to say no worse, that

The second
argument.

doth not apprehend such things come to pass by the transporting of Colonies. Hence indeed we might without much difficulty grant, that some of Sealand have inhabited that Island, but he that would thence collect, that that Island it self belongs to Sealand, must have his brains in his heels. As if it might not be too, that by reason of the often commerce with the Citizens of Coppentagen, the Inhabitants of Ween might frame themselves to speak the Language of Sealand, when as every week they use to go thither.

The third argument.

The third Argument, whereon the Danes lay their main stress, is of the same force and substance, to wit, that the people of Ween hold their Land by Villanage, and use the same Law with those of Sealand. For to begin with the latter, as it doth not follow, because Fuhnen, Langland, and Laland use the Law of Jutland; the Cities Stralsand, Rostock, Gryphswald, &c. the Law of Lubeck; Sterin that of Magdeburgh; Poland in many points that of Saxony; that therefore these places shall belong to Jutland, Lubeck, Magdeburgh, or Saxony: so neither can we conclude that Ween is appurtenant to Sealand, because it useth the Law of Sealand. And it is strange that the Danes should seek to conclude from the Laws and Customs of any Province, to whom that Province doth belong, whereas by force of the Treaty at Roskild, Schonen, Halland, and Blecking Provinces granted to the Swedes, are by special Agreement to enjoy for the future the Danish Laws, notwithstanding they are for ever annex'd and united to the Kingdom of Sweden.

But as to the former, that that subjection of those of Ween, to wit, the holding of their Land by Villanage, is a thing peculiar onely to Sealand of all the Danish Provinces; and that Sealand with the places appertinent to it, is as it were specifically distinguish'd from all the other Territories of Denmark, we know not whether it deserves better indignation or laughter. For if it be a shame for a Citizen to be ignorant of the Laws of his Countrey, we can scarce finde how the Danish Commissioners should acquit themselves of a foul fault; who are not asham'd to declare those things upon a Publique account, which the meanest of the Commonalty know to be most false.

false. Are not those of Laland Tenants also by Villenage, in so much that the very Clergy were heretofore subject to that burthen, as *Stephanus* in his History of *Christian* the Third plainly confesseth; not a little decrying the King, for that he discharg'd them of that service. But what shall we say of Amack, where the people are not bound to Villenage, but free Denizons? For either this must be no longer part of Sealand, or Laland must be appertinent to Sealand; neither of which the Danes either can or will acknowledge. But it becomes him, who hath once abandoned shame, to be impudent with mischief, especially where those that baulk the truth may hope for a reward.

Their last reason was fetch'd from Authorities, for that all Writers, both Ancient and Modern, do comprehend Ween under the description of Sealand. That the Danish Commissioners might gain credit to this assertion, they sent to Monsieur *Terlon's* lodging, Ambassadour of the French King, and one of the Mediators, a whole pile of Books, from whence it might be discovered, that Ween did belong to Sealand and not to Schonen. But the cover was fit for the dish, and the Cause was not so bad, but the Witnesses were worse. For who would have dream'd that the Danes should carry themselves so carelessly in an affair of so great moment; and for the clearing of the controversy, whether Ween did belong to Sealand or Schonen, should produce those for witnesses, who are not Danes by birth, nor knowing in the History of Denmark, and so might accurately decide the matter, but foreigners and strangers, such as could claim no credit at all in the Affairs of those Northern Nations, nor have describ'd the state of those Kingdoms with due diligence or previous enquiry, but have scribbled without choice or judgement, what ever they could finde in other Writers. That this may manifestly appear, let us examine that Author, who exceeds all the rest in bulk and error, *Atlas major Joannis Janssonii de Anno 1644.* and we shall perceive how dim-sighted the Danes were in citing him. For he in his description of Denmark affirms, that Jutland is divided into Northern and Southern, of which the latter hath anciently been call'd Nordalbingen, and containeth the Dukedom of Sleswick,

The fourth argument.

to which also Holstein is subject. But who is so ignorant of these places, as not to discern this to be most grossly false, forasmuch as Holstein is no part of Denmark, nor *in specie* of the Dukedom of Sleswick, but a part of Germany and feudary to the Roman Empire, and is held of the King of Denmark onely under the title of Duke. Nor is that a small error, that he reckons Store a River of Holstein amongst the Rivers of the Kingdom of Denmark. Thirdly, having spoken of the Sound, he addes this, that even there, to wit, near that Strait, Roskild is situated, manifestly contrary to the truth, since that City lies about eight German miles distant from thence. Fourthly, discoursing of the Islands adjacent to Sealand, he affirms that Monen contains Stege, and other Cities, where as there is no other City there to be found. Fifthly, he affirms that Schonen hath been usually divided into two Duchies, Halland and Blecking, a thing which the Danes themselves will acknowledge to be false.

Sixthly, concerning the present and modern Estate he affirms, that in Lunden of Schonen is an Archbishops Sea, whereas it is onely a Bishoprick and no more. Seventhly, which is a most notorious dotage in him, or rather sottishness, he makes Malmoe, usually called by the Flemmings Elmbegn, to be two Towns, which is onely one Town with two names. Just as if a man should affirm, that Gedanum were a Town different from Dantzick, Sedin from Stetin, Regiomont from Konigsberg, and Bigosce from Bromberg. Eighthly, he makes Halland and Blecking to be appertinent to Schonen, which are Provinces independent, though in matters Ecclesiastical subject to one Bishop. Ninthly, he sets down the Islands Sando, Hanno, and Bornholm, belonging to Schonen, of which the latter is a distinct Province of it self, seated under the Diocess of Lunden. Tenthly, in his description of Jutland, Letter *AA.* the Author reports that the Bishoprick of Sleswick was alwayes in the possession of the Dukes, and alwayes subject to the Kingdom of Denmark. The falseness of which, the Delegates lately sent to Coppenhagen by the most Serene *Frederick* Duke of Holstein did at large demonstrate. Eleventhly in his description of Fuhnen, Letter *BB.* he saith, that Fuhnen is divided

Letter AA.

Letter BB.

vided from Denmark by the strait of Middlesea, as if Fuhnen also were not Denmark, and onely Jutland went by the name of Denmark. Twelfthly, he writes that Fuhnen contains in it ninety Islands, amongst which he counts Laland, Falfre, Alsen, and others, which are particular Provinces of themselves, and do no otherwise belong to Fuhnen, then that in matters spiritual they are under the Bishop of Odensea. Nay, Alsen and Aroe do rather depend of the Dukedom of Sleswick. But for those ninety Islands, we shall have need of another *Columbus* to discover them. Thirteenthly, In his description of Norway he affirms, that Marstrand is a Peninsula; a falshood that is obvious to every one. Fourteenth'y, In his description of Sweden he would have Ingermanland to be seated on one side of Capor, when as Capor is a city of Ingermanland. These Absurdities amongst many thousand others we onely inserted, to show what small credit, or indeed that no credit at all is to be given to this grand Witness, the Danes produc'd, in these Northern Affairs.

That French Book is much alike too, that is entituled, *Description General d' Europe quatriesme parte du Monde, par Pierre d' Avity, imprimè à Paris Anno, 1643.* in fol. For he in that description of his, cites in the Margent those very same Authors, which *Janssonius* in his *Atlas* puts down that he made use of, and therefore deserves no greater credit then the other. But, to pass over those errors, which he commits very often in his description of Schonen, by imitating the *Atlas*, whatever concerns this business, makes Ween no more a part of Sealand, then Langland, Laland, Falfre, Alsen, Aroe, &c. parts of Fuhnen.

Nor in this case is the other French Book of any weight, entituled, *Les Empires, Royaumes, Estats, Seigneries, &c. par le Sieur D V. J. Y. imprimè à S. Omer, 1614.* in quarto. For it is not onely stuff'd with the Errors that are in the *Atlas*, but hath so many more besides, that any one may easily see he was a faithful Collector of others too.

Lewis Gothofred in his *Archontologia Cosmica*, and *Martin Zeiler* in his Description of Denmark, run into the same error; the latter of which, having no foundation to go on, fails most

grossly, not onely in counting Hallands-As, a montanous wood of that name, amongst the Maritime Towns of Halland; but also in putting Trelleburgh, Usted, Santhammer, Ahuse, Sylfsburg, &c. amongst the Maritimes Cities of Blecking; when as indeed onely that, he set last, belongs to that place, all the rest being adjacent to Schonen.

As to what concerns *Heylin's* Cosmography in English, that saith indeed that the Island Ween, amongst other Provinces, is subject to the Government of Sealand: but by that word Government, he understands onely Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; as he writes that Laland, Langland, Falsfre, Arroë, &c. are subject to the Government of Fuhnen, because the Bishop of Odensea, as to matters Spiritual, governs there; but for what belongs to secular Jurisdiction, by the Danes own confession, it hath dependance upon no other; and the Author himself affirms, that Alsen and Arroë are parts of the Dukedom of Sleswick. But though that English Historian stumbled not at this stone, yet to pass by other things, he betrays his ignorance in the Affairs of these Northern parts, in that he saith, that the Island of Bornholm was so called from a City of the same name; a place which no man yet could ever finde there.

The Rere was brought up by two Danish Books, of which the former cited before, entituled, *Danmarks oc Norgis fructbar Herligbed*, the other *Encomium Danie*; but they had better have pass'd them by, unless it had made more for the honour of their Nation. For the former in this takes the Swedes part, and writes in expresse words, that Ween, as to the secular Jurisdiction, belongs to Schonen, unless the King in favour to one or other constitutes something to the contrary: and the other makes Ween to be in the Bishoprick of Sealand, which, as it makes not for the Danes, so the Swedes do not deny it.

These are the Arguments which the Danes would have prove that Ween doth belong to Sealand, which we have here laid down, that the World may see with what strength and resolution they maintain their Cause.

Notwithstanding the Danish Commissioners were thus worsted, they were not discouraged, but brought their whole strength and force to overthrow the Swedes Arguments, by

excepting

A Reply to the
Danish An-
swers to the
Swedish Ar-
guments.

excepting to the first ; that the Islands Jarsey and Garnsey are bordering nearer upon Normandy then England, and yet they do belong to England. But that case is quite another thing then ours, for those Islands are Provinces of themselves ; besides they were formerly appertenances to Normandy , but when that Countrey was in the hands of the French, those Islands were united to the Kingdom of England upon a particular agreement. But seeing there can be no such agreement produced concerning Ween, the Rule of the Law of Nations stands in full force and vertue.

To the first.

That which they excepted against the second argument, that Halland and Blecking were alwayes alienated as Schonen was, and yet are never the more parts of Schonen, is not true. For we know that Halland hath sometimes been pawn'd *in specie*, and by it self, and sometimes too hath been under the subjection of the Swedes, when Schonen at the same time hath paid Allegiance to Denmark ; the latter of which, the body of the Law of Sweden doth clearly witness. Now grant it be so, yet the case of Halland and Blecking is far different from this, for they are independent Provinces, and were never alienated as parts of another, as Ween was. Nay, though you should reply, that Ween was so alienated with Schonen, and not as an appertinent to it, in regard Ween is specifically and by name express'd in the publique Instrument, made in the time of King *Magnus*, concerning the surrendry of Schonen, yet it will not at all advantage you : Infomuch as in the very same Instrument *Lystre* is also named specifically, which nevertheless without all controversie, and by the assent of the Danes themselves was a part of Blecking, and now surrendred to Sweden with Blecking. And that naming of them in particular was onely for the greater caution, and more then necessary, which kinde of Clauses whether they be put in or left out do no harm.

To the second.

Happily these two places were therefore specially named, because at that time *Lystre* was the most considerable Port of Blecking, and Ween defended the Port of Landscron.

Therefore when this way would not take, the Danish Commissioners

The Danes
would have the
Controversie
about Ween
remitted to ar-
bitrators, but
the Swedes
give reason
why that ought
not to be.

missioners tried another, and would have this controverſie put to the judgement of Arbitrators, to whose award according to the agreements at Stetin, ſuch contentions, as aroſe of that kinde, uſe to be referred. But that is not the meaning of the Agreements at Stetin, for they do not ſubmit thoſe things, which belong to the execution of a Peace made to arbitration, but onely thoſe controverſies, which in times of Peace might happily ariſe between thoſe Northern Kingdoms. But this contention of Ween not coming into that number and account, there is no reaſon why it ſhould be bound up by the form of thoſe Agreements at Stetin. Beſides, the Swedes eaſily ſmelt out, that the Danes did deſire it to be put to arbitration for no other end, but by their ſeveral delayes to continue the controverſie to eternity, or at leaſt protract it for a long time, as we ſee it hapned in thoſe Differences in the Agreements of Stetin referred to Arbitrators, which after forty years and upward, to wit, in the thirteenth year of this Age, were buried, and utterly extirpated in the tranſaction of Sioered. This was the reaſon why they deſired the controverſie might be decided without any further circumſtances, adding ſome kinde of threats too, in caſe they ſhould little or nothing prevail with them with Reaſons and Arguments how efficacious ſoever. Yet, leſt the Danes ſhould have any juſt cauſe of complaint, the Swedes were willing to acquieſce; and would forbear to urge any further the ſurrendry of the Iſland, ſo that they would make it appear, that the Iſland Ween was by publique Conſtitution joyned for ever to Sealand, before the Peace made at Roſkild, or by the Rolls or Doooms-day Book of the Kingdom, that it was ſtill without any interruption adherent to Sealand. But the Danes produced not a tittle to that purpoſe, pretending that thoſe Rolls had been made uſe of and burnt, to make Fireworks at the Marriage of Prince *Chriſtian* the Fifth. At length after the moſt Serene his Majeſty of Denmark had himſelf made ſearch into the Records and Evidences of his Kingdom, and could finde nothing that could entitle Ween to Sealand, made an agreement with the French Ambaſſador, who (by reaſon the Engliſh Envoy extraordinary, during that controverſie, was gone

gone to Coppenhagen) was much employed in that Affair, that the Island Ween so often made mention of, should be surrendered as a part adherent to Schonen, and that Letters should with all possible speed, that could be, be delivered to the Ambassadors of Sweden, by vertue of which the Inhabitants of Ween should be passed over and granted to Schonen, and the Kingdom of Sweden. But when the Danish Commissioners afterwards put this Article upon that controversie into writing, they put the words thus; That Ween was granted to the Swedes, but not as part of Schonen, but onely to avoid enmities, and over and above; onely for this purpose, to leave themselves an occasion hereafter to demand it again. Just so it was with the Letters they promised us, we could not get them of them, the Danes still complaining, as often as we minded them of it, which was very often, that we should have them after the Treaty was ended, having no regard that Ween was demanded and granted, not by force of the present Treaty, but of the Agreements at Roskild, and that it was immediately subject to the Jurisdiction of Sweden with Schonen, to which it belonged. But it is in vain to contend with them by reasons, who never resolv'd of any thing less, then to perform their promises. For whilst the Swedish Ambassadors expect the Danes Letters of surrendry, the King of Denmark himself enjoyns his Resident in England, Letter LL. MM. that he would use his endeavour to take an occasion to perswade his Highness the Lord Protector of England, that the Island Ween was wrested from them very wrongfully; yet that he should be very wary in his procede, lest the Swedish Ministers Resident there should perceive any thing of it. So well indeed the Danes wish the Swedes, that they endeavour to render them odious to the whole World with false accusations and detractions.

Nay, the perverseness and wilfulness of the Danes reach'd into Norway, and the very borders of the North. For whereas the Jurisdiction of Nidroes, which commonly goes by the name of Trundheim, ought to be surrendered to the Swedes, Rumsdhal a little Lordship there, alwayes adjoynd to the Jurisdiction of Trundheim, and which the Danish Commis-

At last the Danes promise to grant Ween to the Swedes, but in a deceitfull way.

Let. LL. MM.

The like deceit and perverseness used about the surrender of Rumsdhal in the Jurisdiction of Trundheim.

sioners themselves at Roskild confess'd to be a part of it, was held out, and denied us by *Wibe* Governour of Trundheim. Indeed when the Swedish Ambassadors first acquainted the Danish Commissioners with it, they would not believe, that the Governour dar'd do any such thing, but when it appear'd to them, that the matter was really so, they made as if he did it meerly of his own head. But he that shall but cursorily look over the Copy of the Commission, that he withheld it by, which the Danes at the instance of the Swedes shew'd at last in July, will easily perceive, that the Governor attempted it not without command. Letter NN.

Letter N N.

As appeareth
by the Swedish
Protocol.

It will be worth while, to observe here a little at large the horrible villany of the Danes, that shew'd it self in this business. For when the question at Roskild about the surrendry of the Jurisdiction of Trundheim in satisfaction to the Swedes, was, what ought to come under that denomination, both sides at last agreed on this, *That by the Jurisdiction of Trundheim, all that is understood to be granted to the Swedes, that belongs to the Bishoprick of Trundheim, unless what expressly belongs to the Jurisdiction of Norland specifically so called, and Wardhuse, as the words of the Swedish Protocol have it.* And to avoid all doubts, that might be rais'd on this business, one of the Swedish Ministers dictated the very same words to the Danish Registers pen. But when the Swedish Ambassadors being led upon good and weighty grounds, and taking especial notice of the controversie that was rais'd about Rumsdhal, would insert in writing that peculiar Article concerning the appertinances of the Jurisdiction of Trundheim, in a declarative Recess, Letter OO, wherein, not onely all the places appertaining to it were specifically express'd, but the above-cited words of the Protocol alledged; then the Danes began to prick up their ears, and that they might lay aside or suppress that Article, they pretended that it was to no purpose to make any further controversie about this business, and that there was no need of any such Declaration; besides, that they had given command to the Governor of Trundheim, that he should raise no doubts about the surrendry of that Lordship. Nevertheless, when the Ambassadors urg'd it, the Danish Commissioners answer'd,

Letter O O.

ed, that their demand was new, and that there was no such thing in the words of the Protocol; that there never was any such kinde of mention of the Bishoprick of Trundheim, and that there were some Goods comprehended under those words, neither belonging to the Jurisdiction of Norland specifically so called, nor Wardhuse, though lying in them, which were in no wise granted.

The Swedish Ambassadors were not a little moved with that answer, and the rather in that *Gersdorf* High Steward of the Kingdom and others, which were present at the Treaties at Roskild, did both know and confess that those were the formal words, which were made use of. Hence to clear themselves of foul dealing, they desired a Copy of the Danish Protocol, making no question but they should finde the same words there. Besides, *Cornelius Lerck* went to one of the Ambassadors, who had been Register at Roskild, and after discoursing several things about this business, said, that he did not remember, that it was concluded at Roskild, that all that which appertains to the Bishoprick of Trundheim, excepting that, which belongs to the Jurisdiction of Norland specifically so called, and Wardhuse, was granted with the Jurisdiction of Trundheim. But after when the Ambassador opened the Protocol, he found these words written: *By the Jurisdiction of Trundheim, all those things are understood to be granted, which appertain to that Jurisdiction, from which notwithstanding those are expressly excepted, that belong to the Jurisdiction of Norland and Wardhuse.* Where a childe may perceive a notorious tautologie, and so a great fault, unless one will make his business to be understandingly mad. For, pray, what kinde of explication would that be: *By the Jurisdiction of Trundheim is understood all that, which appertains to that Jurisdiction:* truly, a very silly one, or rather none at all; or how can the Jurisdiction of Norland and Wardhuse be excepted from Trundheim, which never yet were comprehended under it? Whence it must necessarily follow, that the Bishoprick of Trundheim was mentioned, in that those two before-named Jurisdictions, excepted from the Grant, are subject to that Bishoprick. But by whose negligence or falseness it was, that in the place of Bishoprick, the word Juris-

Compared
with the Da-
nish.

diction was put into the Danish Protocol, is not proper now to enquire.

But what ever this be, though in the mean time, to wit, in July there was newes come, that the Lordship of Rumsdhal was delivered up to the Swedes Deputies; yet the Danes did not relish it well, that the Swedes Ambassadors should, as we said before, put in writing the Article concerning the appertinances of the Jurisdiction of Trundheim; and that for no other reason, but that they might have hereafter an occasion to complain, either that that Jurisdiction was granted by mistake, or wrested away by violence. As it fell out in the case of those two Parishes Idre and Jerne, into the possession of which the Danes put the Swedes; as also of Jempterland and Herndahlen after the Peace in the Year 1645. and yet they were not ashamed lately to alledge, the injustice of taking them away as the cause of their War. You may easily collect, that we were to expect the same dealing in this too, from the words of *Jonaa Juul* Envoy of the King of Denmark into Poland, spoken at Berlin, where he did confidently assert, that the Danes might easily take an advantage from the controversie about Rumsdhal, to make a new War upon the Swedes. But we must proceed to grosser matters yet.

Another cause of difference was the Custom which the Danes used to take of the ships passing through the Sound, belonging to Sweden.

For if ever there were any thing, that for these seventy years and upwards hath embroil'd these neighboring people in a War, it was certainly that Custom that the Danes use to take of those ships that pass through the Sound, the burthen of which the Swedes would never yet submit to. *Denmark* hath had sufficient experience of that to their great loss, and especially in the War made in 1643. which was undertaken principally, because the Danes exacted Customs of the Swedes. But the Danes could never be so far mended by beating, as to deal more warily for the future.

Contrary to express Agreements at Roskild.

For though by the fourth Article of the Transaction at Roskild it was agreed, that all the ships properly belonging to the Subjects of the Kingdom of Sweden, in what place soever they live, so that they have with them their Passeports, called commonly *Sea Brieff*, which use to mention the Owner of the ships, ought to remain free with all the Lading in them from all

all Custom, Inquisition, Search, and other such kinde of troubles; they, which were the King of Denmarks Commissioners of the Cultomes in the Sound at Helsingore took no notice of it at all, but not onely exacted Customs of the ships belonging to Stetin and Stralsund, and of other Merchandize properly belonging to the Subjects of the Kingdom of Sweden in Pomerania and Liefland, but detained some of those ships for some dayes time; insomuch that onely in the moneth of May, as is well known, they broke this Priviledge eight times. Nay, the Danes were not asham'd to exact Customs of the Wines that were allotted for his Sacred Royal Majesty of Swedens Court, and his chief Ministers, as appears to have been done on the 16. day of May at Helsingore. All which for brevity sake we will adde in their order to this work, Letter PP.

Letter P P.

But when the Ministers of Sweden objected to the Commissioners of the Danish Customs, that they had violated their Agreements; they answered, that they knew no other Agreements but those of Bromsebroe; nor had they received any command to let the Swedish ships pass upon any other terms then formerly. Which excuse, as they had often at other times made, they had the confidence to make yet again on the sixth day of July; to be silent of other breaches of the Articles of Bromsebroe, confirm'd at Roskild, which they committed in this business lately after the Peace was made. Indeed they made restitution of some of those things, they had wrongfully extorted, but not of all, nor those neither until they were urg'd by the Swedish Ambassadors. But if the Danes had really intended to have stood to those Agreements at Roskild, they would have taken greater care in an Affair of that difficulty. Nevertheless, as if it had been a slight matter they had in hand, the Danish Senators never gave so much as a Copy of the Agreements at Roskild to the Commissioners of the Customs, or any other direction how they should use the Swedes ships for the future; but left the whole business to some old crafty Custom-house Men, to the great injury both of the Swedes Honor, and the sacred observancy of Agreements. What could any one now expect of the Danes for the future, that dar'd to commit such kind of enormities, when the Swedish Army was yet in

Which the Danes took no care to put in execution.

the bowels of their Kingdom, and his Majesties Ambassadors staid at Coppenhagen urging the conclusion of the Peace, and all those Articles were fresh in their memory, which were lately made at Coppenhagen, upon weighing and considering of all circumstances; so that it is so much the more wonderfull, that the Danes should be so negligent in ordering a matter of so great concernment. But it is probable that the Danes did it, in regard they were weary of the Transaction at Roskild, and so made it their business to render themselves guilty of the breach of it; and in case it should not fall out some other way, they perswaded themselves, that this business would at last tire out the Swedes patience. For there is much in the meaning of the words of *Peter Reetze*, a Senator of the Kingdom of Denmark, which he spake openly at Coppenhagen at a meeting of the Commissioners of either party; to wit, that there could be no hopes of a firm and lasting Peace between the Northern Kingdoms, as long as the most Serene, the king of Denmark should make use of his Right in exacting the Custom of the Sound, and the Swedes would pretend a Freedom there.

But rather seemed willing to make the Swedish freedom from paying Custom, an occasion of a future breach.

In the eleventh Article of the Transaction at Roskild, they promise a restitution of those three Swedish ships, and of all the goods, with which they came laden from Portugal, which were taken and detained, as we formerly said, before the proclaiming of the War, in the Sound. But the Danes us'd their old trick in this too, and first by frivolous exceptions did endeavour to put off the performance of their promises, daring to affirm, that they onely promis'd to restore the ships, but not the goods they were loaded with. As if it were a thing likely, that one that covenants for the restitution of goods taken from him, did not intend that they should be restored in the same condition they were in, and not spoiled and wasted or but part of them.

Nor did the Danes keep their promise in restoring Swedish ships and goods taken before the War proclaimed.

Indeed the Swedish Ambassadors urged the restitution of them that very time, when two of those ships road at anchor in the Baltick sea not far from Newburgh in Fuhnen, by reason that Count *Wrangell* high Admiral of the Kingdom, had upon those coasts mariners in readiness, and such things as were

were necessary to repair the ships; but they could not prevail with them, till they were first brought to *Copenhagen*, where after many delays they at last delivered them to a Swedish Captain, but in such a condition, that they could not stir from the Port of *Copenhagen* for want of things necessary for shipping before the end of *June*.

But as for the merchandize and other goods which yet remained in their hands, in regard they could not restore them by reason of the scarcity of salt, and the other things, they made this agreement, that they should pay in lieu of them 23000. Rixdollars, 17000 of which should be paid at *Hamburg*, the other at *Copenhagen* to one of the Ambassadors, which his Majesty should especially authorize to that purpose. *Marfcell* and *Klingeberg* took the business upon them, both Merchants and Councillors to the King of *Denmark*, the one as to his Mines, the other to his Admiralty, yet so as that they promised by Bills obligatory to pay the money, as if it were their own proper debt. And for their sakes it was, that the payment of those moneys, which was to have been made before the first of *May*, if the Swedes would have stood upon the strictness of it, was deferred till a certain limited time.

The first payment was fairly carried, and the 6000. Dollars paid at *Copenhagen*; but as soon as the Letters of Exchange according to their Agreement were tendred at *Hamburg*, *Klingeberg* began to put them off with delays, and would not accept them, till he had received further intelligence, that they had given them a discharge at *Copenhagen*.

Who cannot see that this is a meer pretence, when as no man is so absurd to desire to be discharged of a debt before payment, especially when the time of payment is not till some weeks after. But doubtless *Klingeberg* did that by the command of his superiours to gain time, and that they might in the mean while see to what place his Majesty of *Sweden* would march his Army. Afterwards when he was called upon a second time, the time for payment being come, he answered, that as Affairs stood, he could not pay any money for the Kingdom of *Denmark*, without any the least regard to his promise of payment of it as his own debt. Nay, if all circumstances

stances be rightly considered, it appears plainly enough, that *Klingeberg* upon this account would never have paid a Farthing.

Nor did they find the 2000. Horse-men which they were bound to send to the Swede.

We formerly shew'd what hopeful signs the Danes gave of their performing the Peace, when instead of 2000. Horse-men, they sent us but 936. never considering, that when they had performed that condition, the Swedish Army was to be drawn off from *Sealand*.

Therefore when the Swedish Ambassadors desired that those Horse-men might be delivered to them with the greatest expedition they could, the Danish Commissioners said, they were not oblig'd to send them in any more. They said further, that the Muster-rolls, wherein the Souldiers were listed, did shew, that those three Regiments, which they delivered to them at first, did fully compleat the number that was allotted them. And those were the Rolls that the Swedish Deputies desired so often without the least effect when they first presented them,

But that is a pittiful exception, and such as none but the Danes would make use of; who think promises sufficiently performed by such idle scribbling. For what profit could the King of *Sweden* reap, in that those Regiments compleated the number at *Copenhagen*, if he never receiv'd them? For it had been to little purpose for any one to have busied himself about the getting again of such Souldiers together, as use to have no punishment inflicted on them for disobeying their commands, since it was impossible to continue those men, that were delivered to him in their duty. For it was well enough known, that of those that ran away after they were delivered to us, there were above 200. onely out of the Troups of *Axell Urop* that lay sculking in *Copenhagen* and other parts of *Sealand* as their Sanctuary, to speak nothing of above 30. of them that were of the King of *Denmarks* own Guard. The Swedish Ambassadors therefore at the instance of the Governour of *Schonen* acquainted *Urop* with it, desiring him that he would by publick authority enjoin some to give all aid and assistance to the Swedish Ministers in the recovery of those Renegado's, and bringing them to their colours: but then *Urop* began to make

Nor would they use means to let those be recovered who ran away after they were sent.

a long apology, and to inveigh against the loose discipline of the Souldiery: that War now was a kinde of trade, and that they would have most souldiers where there was the greatest hopes of booty; that he could force no man to follow the Army against his will, and that he would perform his duty but ill, that went upon compulsion: yet he would acquaint his Sovereign with it, and see what his pleasure was. But he never return'd any answer to this day, so that the Officer that was sent by the Governour of *Schonen* for this purpose, who knew their names, and where they lay sculking, was forc'd to come back without the least thing done in it. But as by their silence we may easily argue their deniall of the request, so in this business the Danes show their extream injustice. For if he, which gives another power to raise souldiers in his Dominions, is by that very act bound, upon request made to give his assistance, if any run away, for the apprehending of them; the Danes were much more oblig'd of their own accord to have forc'd those souldiers, which they delivered to them, to their duty, if they had had the least respect to friendship or neighbourhood. We need not abound in words. The Danes were not onely pleas'd that their Horsemen would not follow the Swedish Camp, but did seem tacitely to command them to this deserting us. For it is likely, that those souldiers were not bound to the service by oath, onely for this end, that in case there should arise any scruple of conscience about it, it might easily be resolv'd upon remembrance, that they were as yet bound by oath to the King of *Denmark*, especially in regard they were so often call'd upon to discharge those Horse-men by publick Proclamation from their former allegiance, and still put it off. But for all this, the Swedish Ambassadors persisted still in their often demands of the 1060. Horse, which were wanting, but never received any other answer, but that it was impossible in the condition *Denmark* was then in, that so many compleat Horse-men could be put in arms. But the Ambassadors that knew the contrary well enough, urg'd them further, yet withal being willing to rest satisfied, if instead of those thousand Horse, they would suddenly send them onely 500. Horse, and a 1000. Musquetiers. For his most Serene Majesty of *Sweden*

Nor free those
that were sent,
from the Oath
of former Al-
legiance by
Proclamation.

thought this to be a lesser burthen to the Danes, as he himself affirm'd to *Owen Junt* at *Gothenburg*. But they instead of the 1000. Musquetiers promised 500. Dragoons, who being drawn from the Plough to the Sword, could give us no great hopes of staying long with their Colours. Upon which account when the Swedes refused them, the Danes promised that they would send command to *Eberstein* Camp-master General to deliver those 1000. Horse without any further delay upon the departure of the Swedish Army out of Holstein. But there was poison in the tail of it, and the Danes were in hopes, that if the Swedish Army had once moved, they would not put a stop upon their march, though they should not receive those 1000. Horse-men. When his Sacred Royal Majesty of *Sweden* therefore, who knew well enough that there were not so many Horse-men in all the Regal Holstein, had fully by his Ambassadors affirm'd the same to the Danish Ministers, and press'd very urgently, that some might be chose out of the Troups that were in *Sealand*, when they saw no way to evade it, they ordered at last that *Gyldenlow* should deliver him 500. Horse-men in Jutland and Eberstein, the rest in Holstein. *Gyldenlow* did his part first, yet in such a manner, that before they were conducted from Colding to Kiele, above 100. of those 500. Horse left their Colours, to wit, all that were Danes by birth. Hence it is no wonder that his most Serene Majesty of *Sweden* would not accept of any Dane amongst the 600. that were yet to be delivered to him, because it might very well be feared, that they were all well skill'd in the game of cheating the Swedes. But *Eberstein* us'd more delayes, and at first signified to Count *Wrangell* by Letters, that he received a command from the King to deliver him 500. Dragoons not Troupers; but afterwards upon complaint made by the Swedish Ambassadors to the Danes, after a second command he presented to them 300. Troupers; but for the most part ragged, and tatter'd, and ill arm'd, which at first the Deputies of his Majesty of *Sweden* would not accept of, chiefly because the number allotted them was not compleated; but afterwards Generall *Boddeker* accepted of about 400. Horse from *Eberstein*, when they were offered him a second time, not as making up the

And when at last 500. Horse-men were sent, 100. of them left their Colours, viz. such as were Danes by birth.

the number, but because he thought it policy by this means to weaken the Danes Forces, in case they should prove our enemies. But though the Danish Commissioners took much pains to perswade the Swedish Ambassadors, that there were not above 400. Troupers maintain'd in all *Denmark*, yet his most Serene Majesty knew how grossly in this they went against the truth, as afterwards the event proved it, when about the entering of the Swedish Army into *Sealand*, it plainly appeared that there were many more, then were to be delivered to his Majesty of *Sweden*.

Concerning Prisoners, the 19. Article of the Agreements at *Roskild* had made this provision, that immediately after the Peace made, all should be set at liberty without any Ransome.

It was agreed concerning Prisoners, all to be set at liberty without Ransom.

But as if the Danes thought it a thing commendable in them to put delays on us, the Governour of the Castle of *Bremer Vorden* would not set at liberty the Swedish Officers, that were prisoners with him, though urg'd to it again and again by the Counsell of State at *Bremer Vorden*, pretending, that he knew nothing of a Peace between the Northern Kingdoms; and granting it were so, that those things, which the two Kingdoms had joyntly ordered, did not concern him; that he acknowledged no other power, but from his Majesty of *Denmark*, and that he could not set his Prisoners at liberty, till he received a command from his Majesty to that purpose. At last when the Swedish Ambassadors shew'd the Danish Commissioners the injustice of this action, especially in regard the Swedes had been so forward in this point, they were dismiss'd by the Kings command, but long after the time appointed for it. This is an argument of vast negligence in the Danes, that they, as if it were a May game should not in due time signifie to their Ministers what duty laid upon them to the execution of the late made Peace.

But the Governour of *Bremer Vorden* did not observe this agreement.

Just so, when the foresaid Governour of the Castle of *Bremer Vorden* had warning, that his time of quitting of it was near, not onely complained as formerly, that he had no command for it, but besides took care for all kinde of grain and provision, as if it were to keep out a long siege, sparing no

Nor did he deliver up the Castle at the time appointed.

But seemed resolved to keep it by force.

costs, and much at his own charge too, though otherwise a very penurious man. And, as if he had been afraid that he should not raise suspicions bad enough, he gave further cause of suspicion by his ambiguous speeches and words of doubtful meaning: saying, That there was no necessity for him to quit the Castle; that by reason he had been used to the Wars, he was unwilling to leave them off; and if happily the King of *Denmark* were weary of the War, yet that there were other Kings and Princes, for whose service he might keep that Castle, and such other like high and vaunting speeches, which his pride was not ashamed to belch out.

And that by the Kings command,

But who that knows the Danes genius never so little, would not from thence conjecture all things to the worst, especially in that the Swedish Ambassadors, when they urg'd the restitution of the foresaid Castle at the Danish Court, had this answer, that the Governour had strict command without any the least delay or shifting to quit the Castle. But the Governour stiffly denied it; so that one might justly have made a question whether of the two to believe in this case, the Danish Commissioners or the Governour, had he not produced Letters to justify his proceedings to be by the Kings command.

And upon the offers made by the Ambassador of the King of Hungary to man the place against the Swedes.

The Swedes upon this business began to suspect them, and were the more confirmed in it; in that the Ambassador of the King of Hungary made a most solemn promise to one of the Danish Nobles at *Copenhagen*, that upon condition they would not surrender up *Bremer-Vorden* to the Swedes, that he would get as many of the choicest souldiery of the King his Majesty, to defend it and invade the Swedes, as they themselves should judge to be sufficient to effect it. That they should onely say with courage and resolution, what they desired, and that presently they should have a very powerful Army.

Upon this his Sacred Royal Majesty of *Sweden* by his Ambassadors pressed the surrendry of it the more urgently, easily smelling out that there was some mischief a hatching, and the Danes designs contrary to their agreements appearing still more and more, but they would have had prevailed but little on them, and been cheated with fair promises, and effected nothing, had they not by his Majesties command began to give out.

out some threatenng language, affirming to the Danish Commissioners faeces, that if they would not without any further circumstances surrender the Castle, that his Majesty would by violence reduce the Governour to his obedience, and set down his Army before it. For this was that which made them deliver up the place to the Swedes Deputies, but yet it was not till July, above the space of two moneths after the time limited them.

At last being threaten'd with a siege, they gave it up two moneths after the time limited.

These things might easily have put a King of so generous a spirit, especially when he found himself thus slighted and abused, to take up arms: but his Majesty notwithstanding this restrain'd his passion, promising himself that the Danes would be more just and chearfull in doing those things that were behinde.

But it is in vain to expect any justice from them, who think their affairs can never be well settled, if they be not supported by fraud and deceit.

We have as full an example of this in the restitution of a small ship of Norcoping, which a Danish Pyrate under commission from the King of Poland, long before the War was denounced, brought to Coppenhagen laden with several sorts of Merchandize. For though the King of Denmark himself promised in his Letters to the Magistrate of Lubeck, who made a complaint of it by his Deputy, because these Swedish ships were allotted for the payment of some Citizens of Lubeck, that he would not suffer any of his Subjects to exercise Pyracy unpunished; yet they could never get that restitution made, although the Swedish Ambassadors did often desire the administration of Justice. Indeed after mocks and scorns, which the Citizens of Norcoping were subject to at Coppenhagen, they did at last promise a restitution, Letter Q Q. but the Danes have not to this day performed the Article that was made thereupon, and which made part of the Declarative Recess, Letter R R. shewing plain enough that they would perform nothing, onely give fair words.

Nor did they restore a ship taken by one of their pyrates before War denounced.

Letter Q Q.

Letter R R.

But what could one promise himself from such kinde of Judges as these be, who, as the common report went at Coppenhagen, had themselves been at the charge to set out and

arm that Pyrate ship? Notable assertors indeed of the Rights that belong to the Northern Kingdoms in the Baltick Sea, who think it no baseness nor disrepute in them, to gape after filthy lucre under a Commission from the King of Poland, when as the King of Denmark himself grants him no power to War in the Baltick Sea.

Nor did they restore that which was taken from Count *Königsmark* after Peace made.

Contrary to the eleventh Article of the Peace concluded at Roskild.

The Danes too, forsooth, used the same kinde of chearfulness in the restitution of those things, that were taken away by the Danish Soldiery from Count *Königsmark*, and other Swedish Officers, after the Peace made at Tostrop; and however the Authors were well enough known, you might finde that the Danes had very happy wits to make excuses. Amongst which, this was none of the least, that those Soldiers, which had took that booty, knew not that the Peace was made. But this excuse was none of the most ingenious, seeing that ignorance, had it been really true and not asserted, could onely exempt them from punishment, for violating the Peace, but not from restitution of the Spoil, according to the tenour of the eleventh Article at Roskild. And to what purpose should a Court of War be appointed, to which the King of Denmark signified by his Letters that he would submit this controversie, when as they which had committed the spoil did neither deny the fact, nor fly for it; nor was the restitution desired according to the Rules of Military Discipline, but the tenor of a Peace made. Yet notwithstanding the Swedish Ambassadors did very often instance it, and urg'd the restitution of those things that were taken away, but could get nothing but Danish promises, which come to more then a meer cheating of your expectation.

Nor would they suffer the Swedes to take the Victuals and Corn which was their own store, contrary to the 14 Article of their agreement.

And that they might leave nothing unattempted, that might tend to the avoiding of the Agreements, they prohibited the carrying away the Victuals and Corn which the Swedish Commissary had stored up in Alholm, a Jurisdiction of Laland, without any regard to the fourteenth Article, that affirms in expresse words, that restitution ought to be made of these places, the Victuals and Provision excepted.

In like sort there were very many of the Senators of Schonen, who by vertue of the Peace made, were to be bound by Oath

Oath to the most Serene the King of Sweden, that could not prevail with the Danish Court, that they might be discharged from the Employments and Offices, which they had hitherto administred. And some of them were at last so wearied out with shifts sometimes of one sort, sometimes of another, that one may say justly enough, they were hindered from performing this Oath to the Swedes: but others of them out of an hope of a change, which they saw was not far off, neglected to do it, because they believ'd they must ere long forget it.

Not were many of the Senators of Schonen discharged of their Oaths by the Dane, though they sued for a discharge

Afterwards too, when this Serene Majesty of Sweden was made acquainted, that one *Henry Carloff* an Adventurer, and formerly one of the Governors of the African Company in Sweden, by reason of an injury, as he construed it, done to him by the Swedish Governors, because he had us'd a private trade in the coasts of Guine, directly contrary to the Priviledges of that Company, and his Faith engag'd thereto, had not onely privately transported his whole Family from Hamburgh to Embden; but that he might the more infest and dammage the foresaid Swedish Company, without any regard to his promises and the security he had given, had got himself in the time of the War a Commission from the King of Denmark, and to that purpose about the middle of Autumn 1657. weigh'd anchor from Embden, and went with a ship arm'd and well-appointed for Guine; his Majesty upon a fitting and submissive desire of the Sharers of the said Company, could not out of his singular clemency suffer, that the safety of his faithful Subjects, as much as was concern'd in this business, should be put to an hazard in the Treaties at Roskild, but rather seriously enjoyn'd his Commissioners, that were appointed for that Transaction, to provide the best they could for the profit and interests of that Company.

Nor did the Danes observe the eleventh Article of the Treaty at Roskild, concerning the African Company of Sweden, in the Case of *Henry Carloff*

But in regard no man could so much as dream, that the Danes should use any difficulty in granting the particulars, when they allow'd of the general; nor was there any certainty as yet, at the time the Treaty was concluded, whether *Carloff* had done any dammage in Guine: the Commissioners of his Sacred Royal Majesty of Sweden thought it sufficient, as it had really

really been sufficient, had they not had to do with cavillers, that that caution desired by the Members of the African Company in Sweden, should be made in general terms for every case, and put into the eleventh Article of the Instrument of Peace, in this form: to wit, *That all those Prizes which might have been taken by vertue of Commissions given, but were not brought into Ports before the Transaction of Tostrup, should be restored to their true and lawful Owners.* For these words being so general, do not onely comprehend this case of Guine, but can be understood of no other, in that during the War, no Prize could be taken either in the German or Baltick Sea, which was not brought into a Swedish or Danish Harbour before the Transaction at Tostrup made in February, because at that season of the Year there is no sailing at all in these Northerne Countreys; in regard the cold is so great, that the whole Countrey is frozen over. Wherefore these words are principally to be applyed to those Prizes, which during the War, and immediately before the composition might have been taken, but by reason of the great distance of the place, could not be brought into Harbor, where they ought to be adjudged. Truly the Swedes had never started any doubt about the genuine sense of those words alledged, had they not been sufficiently taught by so many Arguments and Trials, that the Danes did watch after all occasions, whereby by false and far-fetched interpretations, they might free themselves from those things they were oblig'd to perform by vertue of the Instrument of Peace. Therefore the Swedish Ambassadors, that they might timely prevent any mischief about the true understanding of the eleventh Article, as much of it as belonged to the African Company, asked of the Danish Commissioners at a meeting had at Coppenhagen in April, whether the words above-written, speaking of the Prizes taken under Commission from the Dane, were so to be understood, that this case might be comprehended under them, if happily contrary to hope any damage should be done to the African Company in Sweden by a private man, that should make Prize under Commission from the King of Denmark; to which the Danes answer was simply Affirmative, alledging that not onely this, but all other cases
what-

whatsoever were comprehended under those general words. But afterward when for the better caution, the Swedish Ambassadors would put the case in an Article, and insert it amongst other Points, that were to be explained in the Project of an additional Recess, the Danes sought out several ways to shift it off, and evade it, pretending in this as in many other points, that there was no need of any Declaration, for his Majesty of Denmark was very ready to do all that he was oblig'd to by vertue of the Agreements at Roskild, if in case any damage was done to the African Company, contrary to the Instrument of Peace.

Nevertheless the Swedish Ambassadors still urg'd it, especially after they had received certain intelligence, that *Carloffe* was gone up from Guine to the River of Elbe with a great prize, having seized upon all the Swedes Forts there, and carried the Governour of them along with him Prisoner to *Gluckstad*; and that he himself was fled with the best part of the gold, and other merchandise of great value, which he had taken away in Guine, and made some alteration in the Article which they had drawn, fitting it more expressly to the present case, as will appear, if you look into the Letters S S.

Letter SS.

The Danes striv'd to acquit themselves from the obligation of the restitution they were bound to by reason *Carloffe* was fled; but this was but a vain plea, in regard the most Serene the King of *Denmark* and his Ministers having had timely notice of it, should have used all their endeavour to stop him from getting away to the damage and prejudice of others. For the Minister Resident at *Hamburgh* did in the name of his Sacred Royal Majesty of *Sweden*, as soon as ever he heard that the ship was gone up the River of *Elbe*, by a Secretary, whom he had sent away to *Gluckstad* to that purpose, earnestly desire not onely of the Counsel of the Government there, but of Field Marshal *Eberstein* that they would detain and secure the foresaid *Carloffe* with all the goods he had brought with him, to the end that restitution might be the better made, according to the tenor of the agreements at *Roskild*, not onely of the Castle of *Capo-Cors*, but of all other the Swedes Forts in the Coasts of *Guine*, as also the ship and moveable goods taken

K

away

Letter TT.

Whereupon
the Swede
threatens not
to march with
his Army out
of Denmark
till the Afri-
can Company
was satisfied.

away from the said Company. But all this pains was taken to no purpose, as the relation of Secretary *Barshene* that was sent from *Hamburgh* to *Gluckstad* hereunto annexed, Letter TT. doth more fully show, with all the circumstances of it. Upon this the Swedish Ambassadors received command from his Majesty being then at *Flensburgh*, not onely speedily to make up that point that concerns the African Company, but further to urge, that the Danes should without any more delay make just satisfaction to the foresaid company, or otherwise his Sacred Royal Majesty would not march his Army out of *Denmark*; or if so be that restitution could not so soon be made, they should take good and certain security before the removall of the Army for sure and true payment, and restitution of these places they had seized at the time prefixed.

Letter UU.

And indeed the Swedes had very great reason to look circumspectly in this affair, in regard that it was plain enough by their dismissing of *Carloffe*, that the Danes never heartily resolv'd to make reparations of the losses the faithfull subjects of *Sweden* had sustained, especially when there were so many several circumstances besides that might give the Swedes just cause to suspect the Danes injustice and perverseness in this business. Amongst which, this was none of the least, that *Carloffe* was reported to have sworn those Souldiers, which he had placed in Garrison in the Castles of *Guine*, not to the King of *Denmark*; but himself, Letter UU. and he with the greatest part of his prize had withdrawn himself from the Danish Jurisdiction, and put himself under the protection of another Lord. But the damage that the Swedish Company sustained, was valued to be above 300000. Rixdollars, besides the Castle of *Capo-Cors*, and other Forts and Merchants houses built and enjoyed by the Swedes, of all which restitution ought to have been made.

This was shew'd the Danes, and the Swedish Ambassadors did propound, to avoid for the future all dissentions and differences that might arise about the number and quantity of the moveable goods that were taken away, that a certain summe of money should be agreed upon as just and equitable, which the

the loss sustained by the Swedish Company should be rated at, from which should be deducted what ever could here in *Europe*, or else there in *Africk* be restored *in specie*, but yet according to the common rate that commodities did bear at that place and time, when the restitution should be made. And thence it was, that the summe of 400000. Rixdollars was put in the foresaid Swedish Project, not that the Swedish Ambassadors would rigidly and peremptorily stick upon that summe, but as a summe of which something might be agreed on or remitted, as was shew'd and told to the French Ambassadour, as soon as the Project was first mentioned. Nor could they justly be found fault withal, in that they desired real security upon pawn given, it being a thing customary and usuall betwixt Princes, and chiefly done for that end, that the debtour may be the stronglier bound to pay his debt, and redeem his pawn. Nor could that giving of pawn be any damage to the Danes, had they resolv'd to pay the moneys they promis'd without any fraud at the time appointed, because it was in the Danes power to make over such goods in security to the Swedes, as might be appointed to them according to the commodity of their scituation, and where there were no places of defence.

But how just soever the things were that were desired, they relished not well with the Danes, whose whole labour was to avoid and shift themselves off from that business by wasting time, nor considering what they had so roundly confess'd in the name of the most Serene the King of *Denmark* concerning the genuine sense of the Eleventh Article of the agreements at *Roskild*, but making use of these reasons following: and first, that they could pretend no right to those goods that were taken away in *Guine*, in regard it is certain, that they were brought into Port before the pacification of *Tostrop*, perswading themselves that a Port in *Africk* in this case was equivalent to a Port of Denmark; and that therefore no doubt or controversie ought to be made about the Danes possession of those things they had taken away, though they were brought to Denmark, or to *Holstein* after the Transaction at *Tostrop*, no more then the Danes could pretend a right to the ship called *Delmenhorst*, which was seized by Count *Wrangel* high Ad-

The Danes alledge reasons why no restitution is to be made to the *Guine* Company of that which *H. Carlaffe* had taken.

miral of *Denmark* not far from *Corfoer* in a Danish Port, but could not be brought to a Swedish Port before the transaction at *Toftrup*.

The Danish Commissioners further urg'd, that they were bound by vertue of the Fourteenth Article of the Agreements at *Roskild*, to make restitution of nothing but onely the Forts in *Guine*, in regard all other things remaining there, as guns, ships, gold, and other merchandize were to be accounted moveables, which in a Continent and a Port, were by the right of War, together with the Fort yielded up, and in the power of the King of *Denmark*.

Thirdly, They endeavored to assert, that *Carlöffe* was not to be accounted such a man, as onely takes prize by a private Commission, but a real Officer of War of the King of *Denmark*'s, lawfully authorized and expresly commanded to seize upon the foresaid places, and to bring away their merchandize for the service of the King of *Denmark*.

Fourthly, They said that according to the clause of the Eleventh Article of the Agreements at *Roskild*, Restitution ought not to be made of those Goods that *Carlöffe* in the name of the King of *Denmark* took away in the Continent, or in the Port, because there is onely mention made of such Goods as might have been taken by those that had a publick Commission, and fought in the Kings service in the open Sea, as the word Prize shewes, which must onely be understood of Ships, and cannot be extended to such things as are taken away in the Continent, and therefore that those things, which *Carlöffe* had done, were not to be accounted among them.

The Swedish
reply to those
Arguments.

On the other side the Swedish Ambassadors did produce more and clearer arguments, to show that the pretence, which they made to those Goods that were taken and seized in the time of War at *Guine*, had not it's foundation so much in the difference, which according to common acceptation might be one thing in an Officer of War, and another thing in him that sets out a Ship at his own charge, and makes prize onely by vertue of a publick Commission, as in the expres agreement made in this business at *Roskild*. For as exceptions would infringe Lawes, and set up a new Rule, according to which, those things

things that are agreed on, must be guided: so in this case we ought rather to consider what both parties agreed on in this business, then that which commonly in the like case use to be kept and observ'd amongst others, especially if the thing be not specifically determined.

That every one knows well enough, that the Peace made with the enemies, is restrained onely to *Europe*, and not extended to other places scituate out of it, as the Spaniards once answered the English; nay, that during the while the Treaties for a twelve years Truce betwixt the Spaniard and States General lasted, the Equinoctial Line was proposed as the limit and boundary, within which the Peace and Truce was of full force and vertue; but on the other side of it the War was still to be continued. The very same case, if approved by either party, would be this, that some places in regard of their scituation, though subject to the jurisdiction of one and the same Lord, should by a particular agreement be annoyed and infested with War, whilst others under the same Lord should enjoy a quiet Peace; which Peace nevertheless had there not been a previous agreement, and had Peace been simply concluded, ought to have been extended to all places without any difference. In like manner if there were no difference made in the Treaties between the moveable goods and immoveable goods that were seized, all then would come under the same law, as much as concerns restitution, although in our case there was a peculiar and an expresse covenant, as we shall hereafter more at large prove. If therefore a distinction might be made betwixt places, as was above said, and also betwixt goods moveable and immoveable taken in the time of the War, why not betwixt persons too, that had seized any thing during the War, as the Eleventh Article of the Agreements at *Roskild* would clearly lay it before us.

And truly that any unbiassed and unprejudiced man, that considers the said Article, unlesse he will purposely dote, should fully and sufficiently understand, that in it is established first, that all immoveables, to wit, Provinces and Fortresses taken from the Kingdom of *Sweden* in the heat of the War, where-soever scituated, should be restored to his Sacred Royal Majesty

of *Sweden*. Secondly, that restitution should be made of all moveables taken from the Swedish Subjects before the beginning of the War, as also of three ships laden with salt, and detain'd in the Sound, or the true value of them. Thirdly, that all moveables, which during the War might have been taken before the Transaction at *Tostrop*, by souldiers, and others that followed the Camp, and by such as endamaged the enemy not onely as belonging to some company, but as maintained at the charge of the Principal Officers, are plainly not liable to the restitution, by an argument *à contrario*, principally grounded on these words; *What goods and moveables soever besides after that time, from the Subjects of the one party, or of the other, &c.*

Fourthly, That all moveables, whether ships, guns, merchandize, and such like, taken by vertue of Commissions by private men, who onely at their charge, and chiefly for their own proper benefit set out and furnish ships to make prize, but brought into Port before the Pacification at *Tostrop*, should likewise be free from restitution.

But, fifthly, if any private man making Prize under publique Commission, had taken away any thing by Sea or Land, and had not, before the Pacification compleated at *Tostrop*, brought it in to such a Port, where, according to the forme used amongst the more civiliz'd Nations, it might be declar'd as lawful Prize according to the Lawes of the Admiralty, that that was to be restor'd to its lawful owner. Therefore that two things are principally requisite, to make such things as were taken away not liable to restitution; to wit, that they were not onely taking during the War, but brought into Port before the 18th. day of February, 1658. when the Pacification at *Tostrop* was made. Nor that the Danish Commissioners, which were present at the Treaties at *Roskild*, could deny, that those words, *Of Prizes taken during the time of the Commission, but not as yet brought into Ports*, were added by the Swedes for the good and profit of the Subjects of his Sacred Royal Majesty of *Sweden*, and made use of onely for the caution and benefit of the African Company of *Sweden*; and therefore ought in no wise to be frustrated and avoided, but according to Justice and

and Equity to stand in full force and vertue.

Which if really so, as it cannot be otherwise, and that *Carloffe* cannot make himself out to be any other, then one that under Commission from the Danes hath done dammage to the Swedes in Africk; nor hath not brought the greatest part of his Prize to *Gluckstad* before June, to wit, some moneths after the time limitted; it necessarily follows, that the Danes, by vertue of the Pacification at *Roskild*, are bound to make real satisfaction to the Swedish Company.

For it is very certain that *Carloffe* had set on foot and acted this villany at the charge and hazard of himself and his complices; nor could the Danes prove with all their endeavours, that he either received any money from the King of *Denmark* to arm and set out his ship, or that any of his Soldiers were bound in this action by Oath to the King of *Denmark*; or lastly, that they had the least pay promised them. Whence it was, that the Danish Commissioners, though the Swedish Ambassadors oftentimes desired it, would not produce a copy of the Commission and Instructions, that were given to *Carloffe*, because they were afraid that the tenor of that would make it appear, that *Carloffe* was onely a private man, making Prize under publique Commission, and no real Officer of War of the King of *Denmark*. But though the Swedish Ambassadors were not so happy as to see that commission, yet they could plainly collect, that *Carloffe*, in that he convey'd himself privately and by stealth from *Gluckstad*, and implor'd the aid and protection of other Commonwealths and States, did principally look at the benefit and profit of himself and his complices, and not of the Kingdom of *Denmark*; and that the cause of his fear was, lest the Danes should desert him in this business, and force him to perform the Agreements at *Roskild* in that point. Unless you will rather say, that *Carloffe* fled by the command and advice of the Danes, because they suppos'd, that by this means they might the easilier free themselves from making satisfaction.

Besides, the Swedish Ambassadors put the Danish Commissioners in minde, that it was no new and unusual thing, for those that made Prize under a publique Commission, to seize
upon

upon fortified places , and do dammage as well by Land as by Sea. That that was manifest enough from the actions of the Companies of the East and West Indies in Holland , who besides their Traffique wag'd such a kinde of War under a Publique Commission, when as the Members of those Companies, though some of them be of a Publique capacity are to be considered onely as private men in this business. Besides that experience doth testifie, that he that by vertue of a Commission granted him, doth arm and furnish out ships at his own charge against the Enemy , gets power likewise to injure his Enemy not onely at Sea , but at Land too, if he can. And that the English did that frequently in the former War with Spain.

Nor can that word *Prize* , which is used in the foresaid eleventh Article, be restrained onely to ships, or to that, which is taken at Sea, seeing rather by the general signification of it, it comprehends all kinde of booty whether by Sea or Land ; and that in the French Tongue, whence it hath its original, it denotes booty, spoil, and every thing that is taken away from any enemy , nor can it be otherwise construed or expounded.

That it is likewise nothing to the purpose , that the ship called Stockholm-Castle, which lay at anchor not far from the Castle Capo-Cors, was as the Danes declare, brought to a Danish Port from those places after the Castle was won, before the Pacification ; when as the word *was brought*, hath a particular signification here , and is to be understood according to the condition of the matter it speaks of ; to wit , in the same sense, it useth to be taken and construed in such kinde of private expeditions and ventures , made by vertue of Commissions granted them , as we said before. For who, pray, in Africk should declare and adjudge , whether that ship and other moveable goods were taken justly, and according to the Rules of their Commission , when there was none there empowered to it ? Nor could *Carloffe* and his Complices do it, because no man hath liberty to be judge in his own cause. Wherefore it follows upon necessity , that the Danes were not exempted from restitution , because the Prize was brought before the Pacification at Tolstrup to an African Port ; but it was further
requisite

requisite to make the possession legal and safe, to bring those goods, that were taken away, into a Danish Port. Besides that that ship could not properly be said to have been brought into a Danish Port in *Africk*, because it lay there before; nor could the other merchandize or moveables, which were found in the Castle *Capo-Cors*, and seized together with it, be accounted to be brought thither by *Carloffe*, in as much as they were there before, and were onely by him carried away from thence.

But that the Danish Commissioners were quite besides the cushion, in comparing the ship *Delmenhorst* that was seized upon not far from *Corsoer*, with this business of *Guine*, seeing that foresaid Man of War taken in the time of the War by the Souldiers of his Sacred Royal Majesty of *Sweden*, hath nothing at all of the case of a Pyrate Ship, that private men which having right to fight by vertue of Commissions they have got granted, use to set forth for their own profit, but that business is rather to be guided by the rule of the often mentioned Eleventh Article, by vertue of which the ship *Delmenhorst* might justly be kept by the Swedes, though it was not brought into another Swedish Port before the conclusion of the Peace; but the Prize that was made in *Guine* by one that had a Commission, and not brought into a Danish Port before the Pacification, ought by all Law to be restored.

That it was to no purpose too, to alledge the Fourteenth Article of the Agreements at *Roskild* in this business, which did not at all belong to it, and spoke onely of the Forts and Fortresses, that were either seized by the Armies here in *Europe*, or were to be surrendered by the Pacification at *Roskild* in satisfaction to the Kingdom of *Sweden*, because they were to be delivered naked, without Guns or any Ammunition or Provision, as may be seen from the context of the Fourteenth Article, and especially in that, which was ordered about the end of that Article: to wit., *That the Bores of those Jurisdictions, in which those Forts are scituated, are bound to carry all their Warlike Ammunition and Provision to the shore, that they might the more conveniently be ship'd and carried away*, a thing nothing at all applicable to this case of *Guine*: But that the natural place, to which this business related, was in the foresaid Eleventh Article,

ticle, where first it was generally ordered, that all Provinces and Places seized upon in the time of the War, and taken from the Kingdom of *Sweden*, wheresoever they were situated, should be restored; and afterwards there was special provision made about goods moveable, to this purpose, that all those Prizes (amongst which those also are legally comprehended, which were taken from the Swedish Subjects in the *Castle Capo-Cors* and the Coasts of *Guine*) which might have been taken by Commissions gained, but not brought into Port by the time limited, should be restored again, as we shew'd you before, to their lawful Proprietors.

The Danes
seek to refer
the business to
Arbitrators.

At last when the Danish Commissioners had nothing of weight or moment that they could reply against those reasons that were alledged, and the Swedish Ambassadors did pressing-ly urge as well themselves, as by *Monsieur Terlon* the French Ambassadour, their absolute and positive answer, they made recourse to their usual shifts; and that they might delay time, and avoid and elude the execution of the Peace, said, that it was but equitable, that that controversie, according to the custom brought in and approv'd on in the Agreements at *Stetin*, should be compos'd by some Arbitrators chosen to that purpose, in regard they verily believed, that both parties were furnished with good reasons to render the thing plain to them.

But the Swedes
refuse this.

But the Swedish Ambassadors, as they had formerly about the Island *Ween*, so in this business also upon good grounds refused it, proving by very strong arguments, that this controversie did depend upon the execution of the Peace lately made, and was not such as arose anew between those Northern Kingdoms after the Peace was allotted for execution, or was in the pacification it self devolv'd and cast upon the judgement of Arbitrators, and therefore was not of that nature and condition, as that it ought, according to the tenour of the Agreements at *Stetin*, be decided by Arbitrators.

Nay, his Sacred Royal Majesty of *Sweden* himself, who in the mean time went from *Gothenburgh* to *Flensburgh*, and wished nothing more, then that the Executive Treaties at *Copenhagen* might speedily come to an happy issue, and earnestly desired, without the trial of further controversies with the Kingdom

dom of *Denmark*, to march with his Army out of *Jutland* and *Holstein*, to pursue with the greater force and efficacy the purpose he had intended in other places, to shew how heartily he respected that business of *Guine*, sent Letters concerning it to the most Serene the King of *Denmark*, Letter XX. enjoining likewise his Ambassadors at *Copenhagen*, that in the private audience they were to have of the King of *Denmark* for this business, they would set before them the injustice of the Danes in this Affair and others concerning the executive Treaties, and that without any kinde of sticking at it, they should tell them openly and plainly, that before he had received real caution or security for the undoubted payment of the moneys, and restitution of those places they had seized, that he neither could nor would march his Army out of the Kingdom of *Denmark*, because he could not put the least confidence in the bare words and promises of the Danes. All which things, though the Swedish Ambassadors faithfully related and spoke openly, both to the most Serene the King of *Denmark* at the private Audience, and to his chief Ministers at other meetings, yet they could never move them to the performing of their duty in the observation of the Agreements at *Roskild*.

The King of Sweden writes to the King of Denmark about the business.
Let. X X.

And demands real caution for restitution before his Army should depart from Denmark.

But the Danes are not induced to do their duty.

Indeed it cannot be denied, that the Danes made a show in words, that they were willing to restore, all that should be found at *Gluckstad* of the Goods taken away in *Guine*, and to give satisfaction afterward for the rest, that *Carloffe* had privily convey'd away with him, so that they would give them so much time, as whilst they might draw in *Carloffe* again to them, or bring him under their power; and when that was done, that without doubt, as they said, the places taken in *Africk* should be restored, as soon as ever a Ship could perform so long a voyage. But in the interim, before this restitution and payment was truly performed, they would not hear a word of giving real caution or security, pretending that they were in no wise bound by the Agreements at *Roskild* to give any caution. And because any one that sides with neither party can easily perceive, how foolish and weak this reason is, we thought it scarcely worth while to trouble you farther with what the Danes were answered to it.

Onely they promise in words something to be restored in time,

But would not hear of any real caution.

Yet promise
that Merchants
should take the
debt upon
them as their
own.

Which when
the Swedes ac-
cepted as a
caution, the
Danes after-
ward recanted.

To decline an
answer to the
Swedish Am-
bassadors, the
Dane sends his
Ambassador
to the Swedish
King.

Onely we cannot pass by the strange kinde of acting that is usual with the Danes in this affair, that, when the Swedish Ambassadors did often desire, and urge their absolute and positive answer concerning the real caution they demanded, they would excuse themselves, that they could not pawn to the Swedes any Lands or immoveable Goods, but yet that they would promise them, that they would bring them some Ham-
burgh Merchants, that should engage themselves, to make good the satisfaction they desired to the African Company, at the time prefix'd, as if it were their own proper Debt. Which, when the Swedish Ambassadors upon new Instructions from his Majesty, assented to, and were content with that security they had proposed; then the Danes turn'd cake in the pan, and recanted their words, they had formerly spoke, about giving in that security in the presence of the French and Swedish Ambassadors, pretending, that in the condition the Kingdom of Denmark was at that present in, and the lowness of their fortunes, they could not perswade any Forreign Merchants to undertake upon themselves the payment of so great a sum. The cause of this alteration doubtless was, that, in regard they had heard, that his Sacred Royal Majesty of Sweden was ready to march away with his Army, and that the Ambassadors of the Elector of Brandenburg were gone from Flensburgh without effecting any thing, they would not believe, that he would for the business of Guine, which onely concerns some private persons, put off that expedition, which he had resolved on, much less wholly give it over. -

Afterward when the Danes were shew'd the unworthiness of this action, and every one did verily believe, that the business would be done without any further delays and pretences, unless they would have no mercy neither on themselves, nor of their Countrey-men in Jutland and Holstein, who by reason of the stay of the Swedish Army, occasioned by the unseasonable and unnecessary shiftings of the Danes, were under a very great oppression: his most Serene Majesty of Denmark instead of an answer, which he should have given the Swedish Ambassadors to their Proposals, sent away *Owen Junt* in an Embassy about the end of June to his Sacred Royal Majesty of Sweden, who

who amongst other instructions carried Letters, Y Y. in which Let. Y Y.
indeed he answered the fore-mentioned Letters of his Majesty
of Sweden, but in such a manner, that it was apparent enough,
that the Danes never intended to give full and just satisfaction
to the African Company.

The Swedish Ambassadors perceiving it, endeavoured but
in vain to hinder that Embassy, and show'd them both by
Monsieur *Terlon* the French Ambassadour, who was then
at Coppenhagen, and they themselves declar'd more at large
to the chief Ministers of the Kingdom of Denmark, how un-
usual and unfitting a thing it would be, for the King of Den-
mark to dispatch an Embassy to his Sacred Royal Majesty of
Sweden, for the transacting of that controverſie, concerning
which the Swedish Ambassadors Resident at Coppenhagen,
were empowered with very large Commissions, and had very
lately as it were anew been by Letters Credential to the King
of Denmark, appointed to finish that business; that they had
done their duty, and not onely justly declar'd what they were
commanded, and urg'd their answer, but expected it too almost
every moment. That they themselves, and all others of judge-
ment that were skill'd in these affairs, could not but believe,
that this Embassy was set on foot, onely to spend time, and in
hope that his Majesty of Sweden would hereafter be forc'd in
the mean while to march his Army out of the Danish Provin-
ces; which if it should so happen, the Danes would show lit-
tle or nothing at all of endeavour and good will, in making
reparations to the African Company; but that they dare
boldly affirm, that their hope would extreamly fail them, in
as much as they certainly knew, that his Sacred Royal Majesty
of Sweden, in regard he had seen them so full of shifts and
changes, would not stir with his Army out of Jutland, before
that whole affair were fully compleated. Besides that they
were afraid, that his Sacred Royal Majesty would interpret
that Message to be but a meer elusion and shifting off the A-
greements, which might be the cause of great heart-burnings
betwixt these Northern Kingdoms, to the great damage and
prejudice of the Danes.

Which the
Swedish Am-
bassadors en-
deavoured to
disswade, but
in vain.

Yea, his Sacred Royal Majesty of Sweden himself did begin

And the King of Sweden represents to the Danish Ambassadors the injustice of the Danish proceeding,

And urges his own Ambassadors at Copenhagen to dispatch the business there. Letter Z Z.

The Danes hearing of the siege of Thoren,

Begin to retract all what they formerly had promised.

Except onely the restitution of the Castle Capo-Cors.

so far to suspect the Danes preposterous manner of acting, that upon that ground, he was pleas'd not onely to set out at large the extream injustice of the Danes to *Owen Juul*, at his coming to him, but sent charge amongst other things to his Ambassadors residing at Coppenhagen, to dispatch the business of Guine, Letter Z Z.

In the mean time all the while *Juul* was employ'd about that Embassy, in which there were some weeks spent, the Danish Commissioners would not give the Swedish Ambassadors any meeting in Coppenhagen; and at such times as they were called upon to it, which was very often, they answered, that they must first expect the return of *Owen Juul*. At last that they might not seem to do nothing, and upon the news that was brought, that the Poles and Austrians had laid close siege to the City of Thoren, that the King of Hungary was chosen Emperour of Germany, and that part of the Swedish Army had already begun their march into Germany, they wrested and refused almost all those things, which the Commissioners themselves before, and principally *Gersdorff* High Steward of the Kingdom had so often promised, about the satisfaction that was to be given to the African Company. For though before the departure of *Owen Juul*, this question, to wit, whether the Danes were in justice bound to make satisfaction for the damage done at Guine, or no? was carried in the Affirmative, and that they were bound to make it; and onely this question, how, to wit, whether satisfaction ought to be made for all things taken away from the Swedish Company in Guine, or also, whether real caution was to be given for the greater certainty of payment, or no? remained, which the Ambassadors and Commissioners of both parties were to discuss; the Danes that lay at lurch and waited how the times would go, and when they might have occasion to order their affairs as best pleas'd themselves, took heart again, and not onely denied all other satisfaction, except the restitution of the Castle of Capo-Cors onely, but would have the whole business referred to the judgement of Arbitrators.

In order to which, the Danish Commissioners did by Monsieur *Terlon* the French Ambassador deliver their Project to the

the Swedish Ambassadors, Let. AAA. which having no reason in it that was of any weight, or could put any fair gloss of truth upon the Danes unjust purpose herein, except those they had formerly brought, which had been so often confuted and exploded, his most Serene Majesty upon sudden notice of it, was cast into such an admiration, that he could not tell what he ought to expect in the future from such unconstant and fickle people

Let. AAA.
And then give a new Project to the Swedes by the Ambassador of France.

But after that the Danes understood, partly from the relation of *Owen Junr*, and partly from the Letters of his Sacred Royal Majesty of *Sweden* to the King of *Denmark*, that his Sacred Royal Majesty would in this case remit nothing of the right of his faithful Subjects, they met with the Swedish Ambassadors again, and exhibited a Project the 17. day of July, Letter BBB. which was written so captiously and ambiguously, that under the shelter and refuge of it, the Danes had a liberty to defer their payment from day to day, and might finde divers pretences to raise doubts and controversies whether it were to be paid or no. Whereupon the Swedish Ambassadors the very next day made another Project, in which there was more care taken and better caution for the certain payment of the money, Letter CCC. and sent it to the Danish Commissioners.

Let. BBB.
And again another Project to the Swedish Ambassadors by themselves. But the Swedish not accepting their Project, offer to them another of their own.
Let. CCC.

But the Danes were no better pleased with this, then with the former Swedish Project, in regard that it did for the most part cut off all occasions, which the Danes might in the future at their pleasure lay hold on, to exempt and free themselves from giving the satisfaction they had promised. But as the Danes never resolv'd with themselves heartily fully to satisfy the African Company in this point, so that could not be well-come to them that oblig'd them to the Agreements at *Roskild*. Nay, that there might be a just cause of wonder at them, the Danes could not be brought to make restitution of that part of the African Prize that was at *Gluckstad*, which they themselves promised in their own Project, though they were often required to do it. For though they had time long enough granted them for to make restitution of those things that were taken away, and they had besides other means proposed to them,

Which the Danes accept of.
And do not so much as perform that which they had promised in their own Project, so far as the Swedes did accept of it.

So that there-
upon the whole
Treaty might
be said to have
had an end in
this business.

Yet in more
other things
the Danes did
fail.

As concerning
the salutes of
the Castles on
both sides of
the Sound.

And the giving
of warning
when a Swe-
dish Fleet did
pass the Sound

them, by which the Danes might better their condition, and the more easily bear with it, yet they could get nothing out of them but the foresaid Project, what labour and industry soever the Swedish Ambassadors used to minde the Danes of their duty. So that one may justly say, that the whole Treaty had an end in this business; and that it is left to the discussion of abler judgements, how little of those things the Danes have voluntarily and willingly done, to which they were bound by the tye of conscience and solemn agreements, and which they had so often oblig'd their faith to perform.

There were, besides these we have formerly mentioned more things yet, by which one might sufficiently enough perceive the unbounded desire of the Danes to misinterpret the Agreements, as those things that were to be performed mutually in their salutes at the Castles situated on both sides of the Sound, as also their giving notice, if happily any Fleet of War pass'd through the Sound, and the moneys which use to be exacted of those that sail in the foresaid Sea, to keep lights at night in the Watch-Tower; and such other things of the like nature which came into dispute. For when *Schonen* is granted with all the superiority belonging to that Territory as well by Land as Sea to the Swedes, that is likewise presum'd to be granted, that useth to belong and is proper to all the Castles and Forts adjacent to the Sea, as the honour of a salute to be given by the ships that pass by. Nevertheless the Danes contended that that solemn salute was to be performed to the Castle of *Croneburgh* by the Swedish ships, yet so that the Danish ships were not bound to observe the same honour to the Castle of *Helsingburgh*. This truly were to deny the Swedes the superiority in *Schonen*, which the Danes arrogated to themselves in *Sealand*, as if the Swedes had not the same right in their possession of *Schonen*, as the Danes have in *Sealand*. From thence too it was, that the Danes after the Agreements at *Roskild* took the boldness to exact the giving of warning, if any Swedish Fleet passed the Sound, which the Agreements at *Bromsebroe* do determine, little considering that there was a necessity of it onely then, when the Danes were Masters of both sides of the Strait. But because the Swedish Ambassadors made an Agreement with

with the Danish Commissioners about these businesses, we think it more convenient to pass them by in silence.

But though it appears manifestly enough from those things we have laid down before, that the Danes suffered nothing to be wanting in them that might adde any thing to the delaying the execution of the Peace; or, to speak more truly, partly by denying their promises, partly by ambiguous interpretations, that they betrayed themselves to be in their hearts utterly against and averse to the observation of the Agreements; yet they took the boldness to lay the guilt of that crime to the Swedes, delighting much to make them, whom nature had given to be their neighbours, partakers of their crime. For when not long after the conclusion of the Peace, the Letters which the Danish Ministers sent to their King out of *Germany*, were intercepted and broke open in the Dukedom of *Sleswick*, and part of them afterwards printed, without any regard that the most Serene the King of *Sweden* had by his Letters patents fully granted security and free passage every where to all publique Postes going and coming: then the Danes greedily catch'd at that occasion to make complaints, that the Swedes in this had grossly violated their Covenants.

Yet the Danes boldly accuse the Swedes, as if they had broken the agreements.

By the occasion of some Letters intercepted, which were directed to the Danish Court, and printed.

But how irrational and groundless this was, will easily appear by the full Narrative of the Fact: For thus the case stands. There came one out of *Germany*, a Servant, as we found him to be afterwards, of some Danish Minister, who upon his petition had got a Pass at *Gottorp* from the most Serene the Duke of *Holstein*, this fellow was suspected by his Highness *Philip Prince Palatine*, General of the Swedish Horse, who had received intimation that there was one posting into *Denmark* with Letters from the King of *Hungary* and Electour of *Brandenburgh*, containing in them plots and contrivances destructive to the Kingdom of *Sweden*, and the more, in regard he would tell no body of what condition he was. Whereupon his foresaid Highness Prince *Palatine* gave command to an Officer, who was Governour of *Flensburgh* to stop him in his passage there, and to enquire of him, who he was, whence he came, and what he carried with him. For he had two Portmantles or Cloak-bags. There he betrayed his business by

Whereof a particular account is given.

making doubtful answers, and such as did not well hang together, and being ask'd what he carried in those Portmantles, he said that in one there was Letters, in the other things for him to wear. But because they gave no credit to what the fellow said, they look'd into one of them, in which he said there was no Letters, where they found, contrary to what he had said, instead of things to wear very many Letters, which afterwards being broken up at *Fuhnen* were sent to his Majesty of *Sweden* being then at *Gothenburgh*. His most Serene Majesty, without whose privy and command all these things were done, having lighted upon those Letters by chance, especially seeing they were written at that time, when as yet there were great enmities betwixt these Northern Kingdoms, was pleased to cause some of them to be printed, that the world might see what the Austrians and Brandenburg had in their hearts, and what he could promise himself of such an outside friendship, and pretences of security.

Shewing how the Austrians, Brandenburgs and Danes did correspond against the Swede.

Besides this not long before, it was given out both by Letters and Messengers from *Denmark*, that the most Serene the King of *Sweden* had by reason the Forts were denied him in *Schonen*, gathered his Army together again, and prosecuted the War, so that from thence his Highness the Prince *Palatine*, who knew nothing of the composition but by reports, had cause sufficient to detain the man. All which matters of import being well considered with their circumstances, will very easily acquit the King of *Sweden* from the crime of violating the Peace, who onely granted safe passage to publick Curriers, but not to any one that came out of suspected and enemies quarters, especially seeing he never profess'd himself to be a Currier of the King of *Denmark*, or of any of the Danish Ministers, and had indeed got a Pass of the most Serene the Duke of *Holstein*, but no other, then in the common form that they use to have, who go journeys.

That the Swedes did not divulge any Danish contrivances made after the peace concluded.

But there were not any contrivances of the Danes divulg'd, which by the Peace lately made with the Swedes either were of no effect, or ought to be so, but of other enemies of *Sweden*, without any injury to the Nation of *Denmark*.

Much lesse did the Swedish Ambassadors urge any things that

that were new, or that did not well agree with the Treaties at *Roskild*, but such things indeed they did, as the Danes by their sinister interpretations gave them an occasion for, and which were thought to adde much weight to the better explaining of the Instrument of Peace.

Which things upon that account his most Serene Majesty of *Sweden* laid open in April to *Owen Juel*, Ambassadour of the King of *Denmark*, at *Gothenburgh*, willing the same to be done by his Deputies, Let. DDD. to which purpose he sent like commands to his Ambassadors that resided at *Coppenhagen*.

Unless they will call that new, which was treated on at *Coppenhagen*, about the making restitution of those ships that were taken away in the time of the War from the Subjects of *Sweden*, in lieu of those that were seiz'd on in *Fuhnen*, and other Ports of *Denmark*. Sure that was for the advantage of the Danes, who for restoring of one received ten. To speak nothing of a mutual covenant, by vertue of which that ought to have been so performed.

Nor can that Article of Oblivion be accounted new, which the Swedish Ambassadors would have inserted into an Additional Recess, in regard the Danes themselves gave the occasion of doing it, by making the Swedes guilty of violating the Peace, unless they had had a minde onely to lay aside the old War, and leave behinde them the seeds that might raise a new one.

Nor, lastly, is it any new thing, that the Swedes to free themselves from all kinde of suspicion of the Danes, did get together Forreign Soldiers, and made other kinde of Warlike provision that might have been spared, seeing without that they could not obtain the end of the War, which is the security of the Kingdom of *Sweden*. The Danes themselves complained almost every moment of the utter desolation of their Provinces, and that they were wholly unable to undergo the charge of the War: sure then it must be some very great reason, that could perswade them to lay a greater burthen of oppression upon those Subjects that were already utterly exhausted. And seeing there was no other Kingdom or Commonwealth except *Sweden*, against which the Danes had such grudgings, as might break out into a War, it would be very hard for the Swedes to

Nor did the Swedish Ambassadors urge any new thing, or not agreeing with the Treaty at *Roskild*.

Let. DDD.

Nor could the Article of Oblivion be accounted new.

Nor that the Swedes to secure themselves did make warlike provisions of Soldiers.

Nor that the Subjects of Denmark were taxed by the Swedes after the pacification otherwise then justly, and according to Agreements.

Let. EEE.

promise themselves security, whilst the other was in arms.

They were far more bitter yet, in upbraiding the Swedes for exceeding the limits of their Agreements, in that after the Pacification at *Roskild*, they did put the Subjects of the King of Denmark to pay the same Taxes and Contributions, as in the heat of the War. But all that is founded upon a false Hypothesis, and hath its original from a misinterpretation of the 17th. Article of the Agreements at *Roskild*. For whereas that Article speaks of a necessary maintenance of the Swedish Army in the Dominions of the King of Denmark till the first day of May, the Danes putting a strange kinde of sense upon those words, would have all ordinary Contributions, and what ever was commanded and promised before the conclusion of the Peace, either to redeem their Houses from firing, or to bring in Provision, to cease and be made void. Hereupon, presently after the Swedish Ambassadors came to Copenhagen, as we intimated before, the Danes rais'd a controversie about this business, complaining that all that was done, was directly contrary to the Agreements at *Roskild*. And *Owen Juul* was in the same note too at Gothenburgh, Let. EEE. in April, the same moneth that the King of Denmark sent him.

But who, pray, is so ignorant in Military affairs, that knows not, that an Army hath not all kinde of necessary maintenance, when they are supplied with meat and drink, but that there are more things requisite; as the furnishing them with money for Clothes, and Arms, and shoeing their Horses, and things of that nature. And because no King or Prince can maintain an Army in his own Kingdoms, Dominions, or Territories, with Victuals onely, it is not probable that the King of *Sweden* would ease the Danes of that burthen, which in time of War is laid upon his own Subjects. Nor have the Danes deserv'd so well of the Swedes, as that they should respect them more then the faithful people and subjects of their own Countrey. It is well enough known, that after the late Peace made in Germany, the Soldiery had for almost two whole moneths, till the compleat execution of the Peace, not onely a supply of Provision, but of Money too: which when the Swedish Commissioners alledged as an example in this business of *Roskild*, and

Christian

Christian Skiel the Danish Plenipotentiary (for *Gersdorff* high Steward of the Kingdome was sick at that time) did at first thwart it; asking what difference there was betwixt the times of Peace and War, if there were no ease of their burthens? to which when he received this answer, that there was this difference, That there was a time certain prefix'd for these Contributions, and that they were demanded without any hostility; at last he acquiesc'd and said, If they could get Peace upon no other terms, they must bear it patiently. And that this was really so, the Danes themselves, if they be honest men, cannot deny. The Swedish Ambassadors put the foresaid *Skiel* in minde of this at Copenhagen, and did themselves declare to *Flemming*, President of their Military Affairs, that to be the explication of the 17th. Article. To which the Swedish Deputies answers to the demands of *Owen Juul* at Gothenburgh do every where agree.

But the cause of all the mistake in this business, was, because the Swedish Commissioners giving credit to what the Danes said, suffered this Article to be made up as well out of the Danish as the Swedish Project. Whence it came to pass, that those things which were before clearly and distinctly propounded, did now determine the business in some obscurity. For there are principally three heads of that Article, of which the first prescribes to the Soldiery, how they ought to behave themselves at their departure out of the Danish Provinces; the second, what they were to expect in Fuhnen, Jutland, Holstein, and other Countreys subject to the Kingdom of Denmark, till the first day of May; and lastly, how they must proceed in Sealand, to wit, where they should quarter, till the Sea were navigable. And as in their departure they were to commit no violence on the Subjects, so in Fuhnen, Laland, Jutland, Holstein, and other Territories of the Kingdom of Denmark, whatever was demanded, before the conclusion of the Peace, either of ordinary Contributions, or to redeem their Houses from firing, or lastly to get their Provision together, ought, besides the maintenance of the Army, to be performed without any delay until the time of quitting them. But the case of Sealand was otherwise, which did grant the Soldiers nothing besides ne-

Which is proved by the tenor of the 17. Article.

Yet the Swede
did remit some
thing of his
Right, to ease
the Danes.

cessary maintenance, as it should be defined by Commissioners of either party. And this is the genuine meaning of this Article. Truly it can scarcely be denied that it was by the negligence of some Commissaries of War in some places, that, in regard they thought they had much time left, they did not in due time demand of the Inhabitants of Fuhnen and Laland the contribution and moneys raised to prevent the firing of their Houses, and other such things as belong to their Provisions, according to the command they received from the most Serene the King of Denmark, before he went away into Sealand : But that negligence of theirs could not in such a case at all hinder the Swedes right when they sought it. Nevertheless his Sacred Royal Majesty of *Sweden* to make proof of his affection to the King of Denmark, at the instance of *Owen Juul*, remitted part of his right, and by publique Proclamation made at Gothenburgh, did most strictly command the abolition of all monethly Contributions for the future, the day of payment of which was not yet past.

As for the other insolencies committed by the Soldiery which the Danes complained of, as no one can do any more then prohibit them, so it is sufficient, if those that command them, inflict due punishment upon the Offenders.

The third accusation against the Swedes, that they went not out of Denmark about the beginning of May; answered

The third violation of the Agreements, that they accuse the Swedes of, was, that the Swedish Army did not according to their Covenant, go out of the Danish Dominions about the beginning of May. But this is a strange kinde of impudence, to say nothing worse, to demand of his Majesty of Sweden that he should quit the Provinces in the Dominion of the Kingdom of Denmark, before they had performed those things, which are required to the execution of the Transaction at Roskild. For the acquitting of the Provinces is the last thing in point of time that ought to be executed, within which there should be nothing left undone that was to be done by either of the parties covenanting, but onely that which requires a permanent and continual Act. And, unless a plenary, and as to all things an absolute execution of the Peace was performed before, there was no necessity for the quitting of the Forts and Provinces afterwards. Nay, if his Sacred Royal Majesty of Sweden would have

have stood strictly upon his right, he was not bound to draw his Army out of Sealand, in as much as the delivery of the thousand Horse, according to the condition upon which he promised to quit it, was not yet performed. That one may justly say, that by this onely action, the Swedes deserv'd very well of the Danes. Nor were they backward in shewing their readiness in other things, as appears in their quitting of Laland, the city Nasko, Falstre, Monen, and Langland, which were surrendered in their due time, and as soon as possibly they could; that any man might easily gather, that the Danes immediately after the Peace was made, did use all their endeavour to scrape up matter to make a new War on the Swedes.

Neither are we here led by vain suspicions, or rumours of the unstable multitude; but by evident grounds and discoveries, such as to all impartial judges will make undeniable proof, that the Danes purposed nothing less than Peace.

Evidences that the Danes did not intend to continue in peace with the Swedes are set forth.

For what could be in their end in charging his Majesty of *Sweden* with violating the Peace, in that he gave way that the moneys formerly leavied should be got in, for the necessary support of the souldiery, but onely that by a notorious misconstruction of the Covenants, they might rake together some matter of a new War.

Or how could all that zeal and fervency to the ratifying of a perpetual confederacy with the Swedes, so suddenly have vanished, had it not been counterfeit and made to this very purpose, that by pretence of a League, they might discharge themselves of the third Article of the Treaty at *Roskild*, and that they might continue their League made with the States of *Holland* to the prejudice of the Swedes? Why should they have so abhor'd to joyn their Fleet of War with that of the Sweds, but that they might thereby get a fair way wholly to defeat the Agreements at *Roskild*, when they should be therefore accus'd of violating the Peace? Which Counsel was contriv'd by *Beuningen*, as he himself plainly took on him.

What made them appear so wayward and averse in the business of *Holstein*, complaining that heavier and heavier-burthens were imposed on them, then had been promised, but that they might after a while take occasion to evacuate all the Agreements?

Why

Lct. GGG.

Lct. HHH.

Why should they refuse to proceed to the promised division of the Ecclesiastical Goods of the Chapter of *Sleswick*, before the departure of the Swedish Army, although the Duke of *Holstein* himself urg'd it, had they had any purpose to stand to their conditions? Why should the King of *Denmarks* Counsellours in *Holstein*, who saw evidently enough (though they pretend to have been dubious) that a Peace was on foot betwixt the Swedes and Danes, suggest to their King such pestilent Counsel, together with such odious reproaches against the Swedes, but that they were assur'd they would be very grateful and acceptable? Letter *GGG*. Why should they, being, as they themselves confess'd, in so necessitous a condition, go on to make new levies of souldiers? Or why did *Rosewing* by *Gerf-dorffe's* warrant take care to secure *Copenhagen* with a Garrison of Dutch Souldiers, but that they were deviling of a new War? Letter *HHH*. Why did they refuse to bring in the Horse they had promised, pretending falsely they were not able, that they might be provided with sufficient force to deal with the Swedes? Why did *Owen Juul* affirm himself to the King of Swedes at *Gothenburgh*, that the business of *Holstein* was agreed, and *Gyldenlow* the Lieutenant General at *Flensburgh*, that the African or Guine Controversie was compounded, but that they might make him secure, and incite him to depart ere his business was dispatched? Why did the Danish Commissioners appointed for the Executive Treaties at *Copenhagen* never produce their Plenipotentiary Commissions? Why would they not bring a Register, if they intended really, and were willing their purpose should be understood? Why did they themselves retard the Treaties, if they were desirous to bring them to issue? Why was not that committed to writing, which was suppos'd to be agreed on on all hands, but that they never intended it should be binding to them? Why should they refuse on the morrow, what they had this day allowed, but that they would suspend the execution of the Peace, as the circumstances and change of time did either promise prosperity, or threaten adversity to the Swedes? What could be the reason they did not freely perform any one thing tending to the execution of the Peace, but that in time following they might have this to say,

say, that all things were unjustly forc'd and extorted from them by compulsion and threats? It was not a talk of the vulgar, but a Maxime of the Peers of *Denmark*, that the Peace in hand betwixt the two Kingdoms could not be durable, that they were not bound by a contract occasioned by force and fear; that those Provinces were not alien'd but lent, and must shortly be rendred back with interest; that other States and Republicks would not adventure to let the Swedes establish Monarchy in the North; that they would not want most powerful foes, whose united strength they would be unable to resist; that sometimes there was scarce a moment pass'd twixt great height and a down-fall; that the doubtful chance of War would afford opportunity of revenge when least look'd for, with other discourses of this kind, wherewith the Danes flattered themselves, and cherished those hopes of regaining their lost Provinces with many more into the bargain. And *Magnus Hoge* himself Senatour of the Kingdom of *Denmark*, may easily call to minde that he cast abroad the greatest part of these speeches.

But this eager desire of setting on the Swedes being so deeply rooted in the Danes, could not contain it selfe in words, breaking out so far, that before the Peace was yet come to ripeness, they endeavoured by most villanous plots and attempts to bring speedy ruine on the King and Kingdom of *Sweden*. For whereas by the second Article of the Agreement at *Roskild*, the Danes were oblig'd, not onely, that all Leagues and Covenants formerly made with any to the prejudice of the Swedes should cease, if any such had been made, but also they should not by any means enter into any such for the future; they were so far from renouncing such Leagues, that the Leagues, which were at the conclusion of the Peace but shapeless issues and imperfect embryo's, they have hitherto been licking into due form and perfection. Whereof the faithful communication of matters between the Hungarian and Polish Agents with the Danish Ministers at *Copenhagen*, may serve for abundant proof, if there were no other.

For what commerce could the King of *Hungary*, who was afterwards Emperour of *Germany*, have with the King of
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Denmark, or against whom could they finde occasion to contract Leagues, but against the Swedes, whose ruine they unanimously conspir'd, though in other respects they were very much divided. It was not for nothing the King of *Hungary* would have his Agent abide at *Copenhagen*, but the hopes, which the Danes had given of a League to be ratified and most solemnly kept, was that which detained him there.

Let. III.

The business of *Morstein* is like this, who was sent by the King of *Poland*, and staves there to this day, being fed with the same hopes. Hereof *Benningen* gives testimony in his Letters, Let. III. where he affirms that *Morstein* said, that he stayed at *Copenhagen*, waiting upon the issue of the Diet of *Warsaw*, and if a Peace were there concluded with the Muscovite, that he should make some farther stay in *Denmark*, but if otherwise, he should depart. Which, without question, he spoke to this end, that he might evidence by his words and asseveration, how constant the King would be found to the League with the Dane against the Swedes, if not hindered by War with the Muscovite.

But the Transaction with the Elector of *Brandenburgh* was carried more secretly, as if the Danes themselves had been ashamed to own their own malice; and it is certain that *Berlin*, the Minister sent by the King of *Denmark*, like one that durst not shew his head, met the Elector by night, and declar'd to him the things he had in charge. Of which the scope was, that the King solicited the Electour to take up Arms against the Swedes, that they might be forc'd to quit *Fuhnen*, *Jutland*, and other Provinces of *Denmark*, and so leave room for the Danes to begin a new War.

As to the united Provinces, *Gersdorffe* high Steward of the Kingdom made a solemn promise immediately after the League was concluded, to their Ambassadour then Resident at the Danish Court, that whatsoever they in their streights and extremities had promised, his King would never endure that any thing should be perform'd, that was prejudicial to the League between the Kingdom of *Denmark*, and the said United Provinces, but rather he would preserve inviolate all things that had been agreed on betwixt them. This *Benningen* recounted

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in his Letters to the States, and in many other Letters of his, he hath with great pains published that inclination of the Danes to adhere to their League with them, and likewise how nothing at all was kept secret from him, that pass'd between the Swedish and Danish Commissioners in reference to the establishing of a League, and that the King himself did not dislike that they should be secretly imparted to him.

But what could the States alledge to be concluded to their prejudice (as they perversely and without reason expound it) more then that main Article of the Treaty at Roskild, to wit, of prohibiting any Fleets of War to enter the Baltick Sea without the consent of both the Kings. And this is the very Article, to the performance whereof, the Danes would not be oblig'd, though they had promised it.

Should we further relate with what bent and eagerness they they have been contriving to slander the Swedes to other Nations, and especially to the most Serene His Highness the Lord Protector of great Brittain, and to convict them of breach of peace in requiring the Island of Ween, it would be an endless work. Thus indeed do the Danes heap blessings on the Swedes, promoting their good, and by all means diverting from them what might tend to their disadvantage!

And lest Sweden should want enemies, so great is their affection to their reconciled friends, the King of Denmark hath recommended several Officers, by himself dismissed, to the German Emperour and the Elector, who were then in open War against the Swedes.

Now who can be so utterly void of judgement, as to cast any blame on his most Serene Majestie of Sweden, in that he had regard to his own security, when the Peace agreed proved so unstable; nor would depart with his Army, ere he had, what in him lay, clean weeded out these ancient seeds of discord in these Northerne Kingdoms. Which had been in great part effected, if the Executive Treaties had been concluded with a General Act of Oblivion of what ever was past. But the Danish Commissioners could never be brought to put any such thing in writing, it being easily discernable what they aimed at by their baukings and delays.

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Since therefore the Danes have in effect violated every Article of the Treaty at *Roskild*, as is clearly to be collected from what hath been alledged; namely the first, in plotting sudden destruction to the Kingdome of *Sweden* by most pernicious counsells, expressing all good meaning to, and as much as in them lay, assisting the implacable enemies of *Sweden*, studying to enrage both their friends and foes against them: the second likewise, in that they were so far from quitting their Leagues, formerly made to the Swedes prejudice, that they have made new ones to the like tendency: The third, In that they would not exclude a Foreign Fleet of War from the Baltick Sea: The fourth, In exacting Customs and other Charges from the Swedish Ships in the Sound: The fifth, by complaining that the Isle of *Ween* belonging to *Schonen* was wrongfully wrested from them, contrary to right and justice, nor to this day have they fully delivered it up as they ought to do: The sixth, In detaining certain Goods belonging to the Jurisdiction and Chapter of *Trundheim*. The eighth, In drawing very many of the Nobility in the Provinces yielded to the Swedes from observing their Oath. The eleventh, in not restoring three Swedish ships with their Cargo's, as also other things taken from the Swede before the War was proclaimed, and in refusing to satisfy the great depredations made by *Carloffe* in *Guine*, and likewise the Goods taken from Count *Königsmark* and others, by violence, although the very persons that did it were well enough known. The fourteenth, In prohibiting the carrying away the warlike provision that was laid in store in *Anholm*, a Jurisdiction in *Laland*. The sixteenth, In not compleating that promised supply of 2000. Horse, nor quitting *Bremer Vorden* at the time limited. The seventeenth, By endeavouring by sundry disputes and contestations to bereave the Souldiery of their due maintenance, and so to make the Swedes guilty of breach of faith. The nineteenth, In not releasing the persons by the time prefix'd. And lastly, in as much as they have in no wayes performed the private Article. His most Serene Majesty was forc'd to betake himself again to his Arms, and since the Peace he had till then made, could scarce be term'd a Peace, the conditions and grounds thereof being
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very little observed, to continue the War he had begun, till the Senators of *Denmark* should return to fairer carriage and proceedings.

For which reason also it was needless solemnly to denounce War, since the Danes knew right well what Peace-breakers were to expect; and that War must of necessity return, where the Peace solemnly made, through the Danes perverseness could take no effect. Notwithstanding the Swedish Ambassadors, were cautious enough that the matter should not break out contrary to their just hope and expectation, not onely affirming openly to the Danish Ministers, and especially to *Gersdorffe* high Steward of the Kingdom, that their Royal Majesty would never pass by their delays & elusions of Articles, but also signified by Letters written to the French Ambassador to that effect, *Lct. KKK.* that it was now altogether necessary to require from the Danes an absolute and positive answer whether they meant to perform their Covenants, and to determine the Executive Treaties or no. Yea, to make it the more evident, that they meant it in earnest, they shew'd the Kings Letters to the French Ambassador, wherein it was said expressly, that his Majesty was resolv'd not to depart out of *Denmark* with his Army, till the business were fully concluded; and that if *Prussia* were lost in the mean while, he would require reparation of the Danes. All which things were faithfully related by him, as the Letters of *Beuningen* do sufficiently testifie.

Surely it may hence be collected, how unwillingly his Majesty of *Sweden* descended to those extream remedies, that he never omitted any thing which might in any sort conduce to demonstrate his readiness and affection to a serious maintaining of an entire Peace between these two Northern Kingdoms. For to say nothing of other expressions of his good affection, this must certainly proceed from a minde sincerely studious of Peace, that he freely granted to the Queen of *Denmark* the Jurisdiction of *Hirsholme*, which by vertue of the conditions should have been restored to Count *Ulfeld*, undertaking to satisfy *Ulfeld* the like in value: that he bestowed on *Ulrick Frederick*, the Kings Bastard-son, the command of two Regiments, and a considerable Pension for his life; and that he suf-

Lct. KKK.

Evidences of the King of Swedens bounty to oblige the Danes to him to confirm the Peace.

ferred the Queen to enjoy the Rents of *Ween* during her life, they having been hers before.

Irem, his Majesty's performances of conditions on his part.

Indeed his Majesty of *Denmark* had not onely laid aside all rankor of spirit, but also all desire of ruling over his neighbours, which creep on men of generous mindes sometimes against their wills, being contented with what he was perswaded might be sufficient for his security. And that he might for ever bar all pretence to *Denmark*, he thought fit to assume the Title of *Schonen*, aiming at nothing more, then that the Executive Treaties might speedily be brought to a good issue. Hence, assoon as he saw some hopes of it, he straitly enjoyn'd his Ambassadors then residing at *Copenhagen*, to effect the Treaties, and Count *Wrangel* high Admiral that commanded in *Fuhnen* and *Jutland*, for the gaining of time to march his Army forthwith without the least delay out of *Denmark*, assoon as he should be certified by the Ambassadors from *Copenhagen*, that the Treaty was concluded. His Majesty with his Queen departed from *Gothenburgh*, intending for *Holstein*, with certain confidence, that he should finde his Army on their March.

Whereas the Danes did nothing but dilatorily.

And indeed his Majesty wondred much at the preposterous counsells of the Danes, that they delayed to put a final period to the Treaties, little regarding that their Subjects sustained great damage, whilst the Army abode in their Countreys. Notwithstanding, suspecting nothing, he commanded part of his Forces away, at *Flensburgh* he gave the same Orders both to his Ambassadors at *Copenhagen*, and also to Count *Wrangel*, and the rather for that it was told him by *Gyldenlow* that the Commissioners were not onely in a manner agreed concerning the satisfaction of the African Company, but also that the Horse remaining were to be delivered presently up with the Castle of *Bremer Vorden*.

But if it had been his Majesty's pleasure to have assaulted the Danes afresh, he would, as consulting with the present state of Affairs, have remitted something of his Right in the cause of the Brandeburgh, and would not have had so urg'd the Danes to furnish out their Fleet, unless a man should believe that the King of Sweden purpos'd to provide weapons for his enemies.

But

But when he saw most certainly, that the Danes in their procrastinations had quite another drift then the tranquillity of the North, and that to spend time, and to delay under some colourable pretence the conference with his Ambassadors, and that *Owen Juul* was sent in Embassy about no other business, then what the Ambassadors at *Copenhagen* were fully instructed in, being taught by infallible arguments that his moderation and gentleness had been of little or no avail with the Danes, and that his courtesies had onely encouraged them to the more foul ingratitude and desperate madness. For the Danes had persuaded themselves, that he could not, though he should never so much desire it, make any stay in *Denmark*, especially since they understood, whiles these matters had depended, that the King of Hungary and Bohemia, a deadly enemy of the Swedes, was elected Emperor of Germany, that the Brandeburgh Ambassadors were gone in dislike from *Flensburgh* without taking leave of the King, and that the City of *Thorun* was straitly besieged.

His most Serene Majesty of *Sweden* therefore was not stirr'd up against the Danes by any blinde desire of embroiling himself in War, since being assail'd on all hands by so many powerful enemies, he could not possibly want occasion to exercise his Military prowess. Nay, he was rather constrain'd by inevitable necessity to work himself out of those tempests, the Danish plots had rais'd against him. Truly, he had not forgotten what great mischief the Muscovite had done in *Leifland*, and how little credit was to be given to them, though they talk'd so much of Peace. The hazardous estate of the Protestants in *Poland* too, with the cries of his own Subjects in *Prussia*, imploring his aid almost every moment, did deeply affect his otherwise most calm and gentle spirit. The horrible injuries done him by the Austrians, did irritate his generous resolution, which injuries as he never provok'd or drew on himself, so undoubtedly he had then resolved to take vengeance of them, he pondered in his minde the *Brandeburghs* treacherous plots and breaches of League, which would easily have mov'd any to just indignation, especially since it was of so high concern to the Protestant Cause in general, suddenly to withdraw him from the pernicious.

Evidences of the Swedish intention, that it was not to assault the Danes, if he had not been by them necessitated to it.

nicious Society of the House of *Austria*.

But the consideration of these and other things was overpowred by the truly royal affection he bare to his Kingdom and people, which would by no means permit, that by chastising the injuries of others, he should again expose his Countrey to the robberies and outrages of the Danes, chiefly since by those unlucky delays many fair opportunities were already elapsed, that his enemies by degrees had gotten strength, and those who formerly were hardly able to make any defence, were now so bold as to invade and make a new War upon him; and lastly that those, who had purposed to be at Peace, were now grown furious, and threatned his utter destruction.

To which may be added, that however his Majesty might be able to sustain the Wars brought on him by others, yet he foresaw great difficulty in avoiding the Armies of the Danes, and the performance of what they had contriv'd at *Gluckstad*, especially being environed by so great a multitude of enemies.

Therefore he held it most necessary, since he could not hinder, yet to avoid and frustrate these Danish designs against *Sweden*, and forasmuch as there was no safety but in Arms, he deem'd it not unfit to exchange a War for a faithless Peace, having resolv'd, if God should prosper his undertakings, (of which the justice of his cause forbids him to doubt) never to desist till he should see a faithful, sincere, and durable Peace restored and settled betwixt these Northern Kingdoms.

And though his Sacred Royal Majesty of *Sweden* had entertain'd quite another opinion of the King of *Denmark*, he could not possibly be induced, to think that a Prince formerly commended for his affection to Peace, and who had sought to express the same in severall debates and overtures, should now assume a contrary temper; yet could he not, though it was his earnest desire, refrain from War, which was the onely imaginable remedy to preserve himself against the treacheries of the Danes. Nor is the King himself to be excus'd, for he must justly be presum'd to have liked and approved what his Ministers did, since through his unseasonable facility, he restrain'd it not, as by his authority he might and ought.

But as for the effusion of Christian blood, without which this
business

business cannot be effected, as his Majesty of Sweden doth most heartily detest and lament the same; so he makes no doubt, but that the eternal Justice, which is onely incorrupt, will in its own time avenge the same on the contrivers of the Danish devices.

And therefore is guiltless of the effusion of Christian Blood.

Lastly, touching the desolation of the Provinces, and the great calamity brought on the Subjects, let the Danes impute those things to themselves, who having first provok'd us to Arms, sued for Peace, when they saw no remedy but they must be beaten; to no other end, then that in the mean time they might desire aid from others, and disable the Swedes forces by dividing and drawing them into diverse parts at once.

And of the desolation of Provinces.

The success of which Counsels, their posterity, those that shall be left of them, may deplore, when it is too late, not without horrid execrations on their Ancestors, in that they preferred a doubtful War, and such as would draw nothing after it but ruine, before a sincere and a secure Peace.

FINIS.

Note,

The Publick Acts and Records before mentioned, and often cited in the Margin, according to the Letters of the Alphabet, being not ready for the Press, shall follow with the first opportunity.